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in central Europe opened in the capital of Austria. Taking part in the talks are 12 North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) countries and 7 Warsaw Pact countries.

Even prior to the opening of the talks, during the preparatory consultations, the sides defined the area where the reductions were to apply. This area included the territories of the GDR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, the FRG, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg. Furthermore it was decided that the reductions would also apply to the armed forces personnel and armaments of states which have forces stationed in central Europe; that is, in addition to the aforementioned states the USSR on the one hand, and the United States, Canada, and Great Britain on the other.

The Vienna talks are now in their 46th round with no end in sight. What is the reason for this situation?

First, it is the unconstructive stance of the NATO countries, which from the outset have tried to use this forum to obtain a unilateral military advantage.

Second, it is the constant presentation by the West of demands which it knows to be unacceptable: not to reduce armaments at the same time as the forces; not to limit military activities in the area subject to reductions; to extend verirication, in addition to the agreed upon area of central Europe, to adjoining military districts of the Soviet Union and Bulgaria, Hungary, and Romania.

Third, the exchange of statistical data about the strength of the sides' forces has failed to determine the strength of the combat potentials of the Warsaw Pact and NATO in the areas subject to reductions.

And fourth, and this must be particularly emphasized, the sides have failed to achieve profound mutual trust, the lack of which has been felt at all stages of the talks.

Is it possible, nonetheless, to eliminate the senseless and dangerous military confrontation in the continent of Europe? How are we to achieve sensible defense and security guarantees at a substantially lower level of the sides' military potentials?

The socialist community countries' answer to all these questions is this: only on the basis of the states' mutual efforts and maintaining a balance of interests under which equal security is guaranteed to all participants. Actions taken in a confrontational spirit are a method of the past. They do not lead to realistic and mutually acceptable solutions. This, specifically, is borne out by the Vienna talks and the difficulties encountered during the elaboration of the mandate for new talks on radical reductions of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals.

Speaking at the first plenary meeting of the current round of the Vienna talks, Ambassador V.V. Mikhaylov, head of the Soviet delegation, said that unless the fundamental differences between sides on the essence of the proposed agreement are overcome and the observance of a sensible balance between the nature of the disarmament measures and verification is ensured, it will be unrealistic to hope for an agreement. At the same time he stressed that "if no progress is achieved at these talks, the participants will, obviously, have to make a decision on their future fate in the near future in view of the upcoming all-European talks on the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments."

Whatever happens, the Vienna talks have not been in vain. Over many years they served to maintain a necessary dialogue between 19 states belonging to diametrically opposed military-political alliances discussing the complex problem of military detente and the strengthening of stability and security in the continent of Europe. These talks exposed not only the differences in the sides' stances but also certain points where they overlapped, and they made it possible to obtain a clearer picture of the conditions under which it would, nonetheless, be possible to reach agreement on a reduction of forces and armaments in Europe. And last but not least, they can serve as a lesson for future talks so as to ensure that past mistakes are avoided in the future.

Bessmertnykh Explains Stance on Nuclear Tests

PM0211095988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Reply by A.A. Bessmertnykh, USSR first deputy foreign minister, to Soviet Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War Committee under the rubric "USSR Foreign Ministry Answers Soviet Physicians": "Our Stand"; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] Many IZVESTIYA readers are sure to remember a certain published item. We are referring to the letters by the U.S. presidential candidates in which they set out their views on the problem of banning nuclear tests. Let us remind you that this request was made of G. Bush and M. Dukakis by the U.S. cochairman of the international movement "International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War," Professor B. Lown. He obligingly presented the editorial office with the replies of both politicians, which were subsequently published by IZVESTIYA at the beginning of September (No 248).

For its part, the Soviet committee "Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War" asked the USSR Foreign Ministry to set out our country's position on the test issue. Today we publish the reply, from A.A. Bessmertnykh, first deputy foreign minister.

The Soviet Union regards a ban on nuclear arms tests as one of the most important measures with regard to ending the nuclear arms race and implementing the

NATO Nuclear Planning Group Holds Session

Lack of Unity Noted

PM0111075188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Oct 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Nuclear Planning Group Session"]

[Text] The Hague, 27 Oct—The 44th session of the NATO Nuclear Planning Group has opened here at the level of the bloc countries' defense ministers. The group is made up of 14 countries of the North Atlantic alliance with the exception of France and Iceland.

One of the main items on the session agenda is the examination of a report which draws a conclusion on the need to modernize NATO short-range nuclear weapons. The document has been prepared by a group of high-ranking representatives of the governments of the alliance member countries.

As the bulletin ATLANTIC NEWS, which is close to NATO circles, points out, a debate on problems of disarmament in light of the changes taking place in East-West relations will also occupy an important place.

On the whole, the present session is regarded as an important event in the sphere of defining and formulating NATO's further nuclear strategy. It is noteworthy that it is starting its work amid an atmosphere that lacks total unity of opinions. The Belgian Government declared on the eve of the session that it will not support the report's hypothesis on the need to modernize the bloc's tactical nuclear forces. According to a statement by Guy Coeme, the country's minister of national defense, the general tone of this document is incompatible with the spirit of detente. Speaking in parliament, Prime Minister Wilfried Martens declared that Belgium believes a decision on modernizing NATO short-range nuclear arms sited in Europe must be adopted only after the elaboration of an overall concept of the limitation of all kinds of arms on the continent. Belgian political circles are also voicing fears that, by letting itself be led along by the Nuclear Planning Group, the country risks finding itself in a complex situation, as was the case in the early eighties, when Belgium agreed to the siting of U.S. intermediate-range nuclear means on its territory.

Defers Modernization Decision

PM0211084788 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 30 Oct 88 Second Edition p 5

[Article by A. Bogomolov: "Hawks Squeezed. Results of NATO Nuclear Planning Group Session in Brussels"]

[Text] Sittings of the NATO Nuclear Planning Group were held in Brussels at the end of last week.

The participants in the session of the group, which includes all the NATO countries except France and Iceland, discussed the question of preserving and modernizing the bloc's tactical nuclear forces. This is an important moment—following the conclusion of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles and in light of the prospects for concluding a new agreement on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive arms, short-range nuclear arms remain the only type of these lethal weapons that remain outside discussions on reducing them in the foreseeable future.

The essence of the proposals submitted by NATO experts to the Nuclear Planning Group session amounts to the updating of existing weapons. It is proposed to modernize nuclear artillery, substitute missiles launched from aircraft for free-fall nuclear bombs, and replace the Lance missiles with a range up to 110 km, which are in the arsenal today, with more accurate and powerful missiles which are currently being developed in the United States and which will hit targets at a distance of 450 km.

Formally all these changes will not constitute a violation of the pledges under the treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles, but in fact? For right after the December summit meeting, NATO began carrying out a maneuver called "management of the post-treaty situation." In addition to the measures enumerated, it is proposed to make a considerable shift toward sea-launched cruise missiles and toward increasing the number of F-111 bombers in Britain. And the nuclear warheads being removed from intermediate-range missiles will be installed on new kinds of short-range weapons....

Yet the Nuclear Planning Group displayed a restrained approach. Representatives of a number of NATO countries took a sensible stand. The Belgians, Netherlanders, and Greeks expressed an opinion different from the U.S. one. As a result, the final decision on the modernization issue has been deferred until a future time—the final answer will be given no earlier than next year. By then, as everyone hopes, the talks in Vienna on reducing conventional arms are to have begun, and the situation will change in favor of restraint.

As Belgian Prime Minister Wilfried Martens declared, his country believes a decision on modernizing short-range nuclear arms must be adopted only after a general concept for limiting all types of arms on the continent has been formulated.

Commentator on Lack of Progress at MBFR Talks

PM0111112188 Moscow TRUD in Russian 30 Oct 88 p 3

[Commentary by V. Nazarenko, candidate of military sciences: "Vienna Talks: A Deficit of Trust"]

[Text] It is now 15 years since talks on mutual reductions of armed forces and armaments and associated measures

program to eliminate nuclear weapons on earth by the beginning of the third millennium. We are prepared to end these tests immediately if other states do the same.

We work on the basis that ending nuclear explosions would seriously help to resolve the task of reducing nuclear arms production. With the end of tests, the race to create new types of nuclear weapons and make them more sophisticated would essentially come to a halt. All that would remain would be to deal with the quantitative arms race, which is much simpler. In short, a test ban is first and foremost a major military-technical measure.

Ending tests would also be a serious political step with tangible material results, which would introduce an element of predictability to the development of international relations. And finally, it would also be a substantial international legal action whose implementation would strengthen the existing system of disarmament treaties and agreements, as the legal treaty basis of interstate relations.

The simple enumeration of these elements clearly shows that the problem of nuclear tests requires a rapid, radical solution.

The Soviet Union's fundamental position is reflected in the document submitted jointly with other socialist countries for discussion by the disarmament conference: "Basic Principles of the Treaty on a Complete and General Ban on Nuclear Arms Tests." It is a qualitatively new document which sets the positive potential of joint work on a solution to the problem of ending nuclear tests in a common framework.

The question of verification and monitoring is given particular significance in this document. The draft includes extensive verification measures, ranging from the notification of test site locations to participation by international inspectors in the task of verifying that nuclear test explosions are not carried out at these sites. The document clearly demonstrates the possibility of creating an effective, verifiable international monitoring system to ensure that nuclear tests are not carried out—provided, of course, the world community has the political will to end these tests.

The Soviet Union is convinced that involving the disarmament conference in the process of drafting a treaty to ban nuclear arms tests, as well as the useful initiatives of other states in this sphere, can and must contribute to the earliest possible, radical solution to the problem of nuclear tests.

No one doubts the fact that the task of ending and banning nuclear arms tests primarily depends on the Soviet Union and the United States. Considering this objective reality of the world today, the Soviet Union has made considerable efforts to begin a serious dialogue with the United States on this problem.

Not so long ago our country took bold, unilateral action and voluntarily introduced a moratorium on all nuclear explosions. For 18 months the Soviet Union observed this moratorium, hoping, by this good example, to persuade the United States to join this action. The United States' continuation of nuclear tests, which forced us to end our moratorium, has not shaken our determination to bring nuclear explosions to an end. And if the United States ends its nuclear tests, the Soviet Union is prepared—on any day and in any month—to stop the implementation of its own test program on a reciprocal basis.

Just over a year ago an accord was reached to begin full-scale Soviet-U.S. talks on limiting and ending nuclear tests, although, as E.A. Shevardnadze has said, we would have preferred another cardinal decision—to immediately end all nuclear tests.

Beginning these talks with the United States, we proceeded from the fact that during them the sides would, as a first step, agree on effective verification measures that will make it possible to ratify the 1974 Treaty on the Limitation of Underground Nuclear Weapon Tests and the 1976 Treaty on Underground Nuclear Explosions for Peaceful Purposes and begin coordinating further interim restrictions on nuclear tests on the way to the final goal—a complete end to nuclear tests.

Quite a lot has been achieved at the talks, and their first stage is essentially nearing completion. A joint verification experiment has been conducted at test sites in the Soviet Union and the United States, which has made it possible to complete the development of enhanced verification measures for the 1974 and 1976 treaties in the shortest time possible.

It should also be considered that these verification measures will be used—insofar as they are applicable—in agreements to further restrict nuclear tests which it is intended to draw up in the future.

For its part, the Soviet Union is making every effort to achieve the speediest definitive agreement of protocols to the 1974 and 1976 treaties so that the sides can move on immediately after this to the next stage in the talks—the discussion of further, more radical measures to limit the yield and number of nuclear tests until they are ended completely.

Shevardnadze Departs Budapest After Pact Meeting
PM0111110588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Oct 88 Second Edition p4

[TASS report: "Return Home"]

[Text] Budapest, 29 Oct—Today E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, left Budapest for Moscow after taking part in the work of the Warsaw Pact Foreign Ministers Committee session.

He was accompanied to the airport by Hungarian Foreign Minister P. Varkonyi and other officials.

Those present included B.I. Stukalin, Soviet ambassador to Hungary.

Greeted by Yakovlev on Return
LD2910233188 Moscow TASS in English 1551 GMT 29 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 29 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, returned here today from Budapest where he attended a session of the Foreign Ministers' Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member states. [Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1800 GMT on 29 October adds: "Shevardnadze was met at the airport by Comrade Yakovlev and other officials."]

'Roundtable' on Visits, U.S. Election
LD3010214488 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1230 GMT 30 Oct 88

["International Observers Roundtable" program with All-Union Radio commentator Igor P. Charikov, IZVESTIYA political observer Vitaliy I. Kobysh, an Gostelradio political observer Valentin S. Zorin]

[Text] [Charikov] Hello, esteemed comrades. As we begin our review of events in international life over the past week, we ought to say something first of all about the results of the visit to our country of West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and of the Soviet-West German talks.

As the newspaper GENERAL-ANZEIGER writes, a final summing-up of the outcome of this visit will have to wait until 1989, after the reciprocal visit to the FRG of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. But the results of the visit can already be said to have exceeded virtually all expectations. The word breakthrough is being mentioned; so are the words new page—a term that Helmut Kohl has transformed into the expression new chapter. In other words, much the same assessment is being made both by our observers and by the foreign media.

The accords, agreements, and various projects signed in the few days that Helmut Kohl and the delegation accompanying him were in Moscow number more than 30—I counted them on the list handed out to journalists at the press conference. These accords, agreements, and projects concern many different spheres of our bilateral relations, from political issues to the mutual return of Hanseatic documents; a very wide spectrum, taking in economic matters, science, culture, protection of the environment, and joint efforts in the peaceful use of space.

Of course, as the talks progressed they revealed—well, not exactly revealed, but showed again—that there do exist certain disagreements between our countries which have not disappeared of their own accord; and that we have different approaches to global, bilateral, and continental problems. The West German newspapers single out as particularly successful the results of the negotiations in the field of trade and economic relations. There is a certain logic in this. The Federal Republic of Germany is striving to become one of the leading powers on the European Continent in this sphere. It has an interest in finding a market for its goods. It has an interest in establishing and consolidating ties with practically all the countries of the socialist community. And this cannot but arouse a certain envy—or jealously, I'd say—on the part of the United States.

[Kobysh] Now there, Igor Pavlovich, in mentioning the economic aspect you seem to me to have touched on a very important angle of the U.S. reaction to the series of talks going on in Moscow with the leaders of various countries. Of course there is also something political behind it—what you described as jealously. But I'm inclined to think that the increasingly acute economic contradications within the Western camp are a very important consideration. For understandable reasons, they try not to advertise these contradictions, a and they don't talk about them much. But I'll allow myself something that isn't really advisable for a writer on international affairs—to predict—and say that as I see it, one of the deciding factors in the development of political events on the international scene in the next decade will be a mounting struggle over trade, and possibly a commercial and economic war between the leading capitalist countries. To all intents and purposes, it has already begun. In these visits to Moscow—Chancellor Kohl's visit is a case in point—the U.S. monopolistic conglomerates now see a very serious threat to themselves. The U.S. foreign trade deficit is already a headache for Washington. And the fact that America's partners—to put it mildly—in the Western alliance are beginning to bypass the United States—economically and in the sphere of trade—and that there are now serious prospects of the Soviet Union developing more vigorous economic ties with a number of other countries, is making Washington very nervous. This is a self-evident fact.

In general I'd say the Americans are nervous right now. I don't mean Americans in general, but those who walk the corridors of power. While foreign policy in the United States is to some extent frozen—with everything concentrated on domestic affairs and the presidential elections in a few days—a great deal is happening in the international arena; and it must be said that Moscow is to some extent at the center of it. I think not only we, but other couuntries too are developing these relations regardless of the U.S. election campaign and all the scrapes going on in that country—the world is not standing still because of them.

This visit by Kohl has aroused an avalanche of reaction—as Igor Pavlovich has quite rightly said, the reaction to all this has been simply unprecedented. The response has been very interesting because it's a reaction to actions of a government that has not only seized the moment for intensifying its political activity, but has ascertained the direction that political thought is taking in today's world. Give Chancellor Kohl his due: He's been ahead of many others, both in the FRG and in Western Europe, in realizing that the growing popularity of Soviet restructuring is not a tribute to fashion, but a change of heart among the broad masses of people. In reinterpreting the destiny of the world, and therefore their own destiny, people do not feel that it is rational or possible to take away from the processes occurring in our country. Kohl has caught this mood, and there is every indication that, for a number of reasons, he has thought it advantageous and timely to embark on the path of cooperation and rapprochement with the Soviet Union. In the economic sphere this has manifested itself most clearly—so clearly that the West German paper KOLNER STADT-ANZEIGER, openly poking fun at

the reactions of the powers that be in the United States, writes that the Americans are making it quite clear that the FRG has gone too far in giving financial and economic aid to the Soviet Union. The question suggests itself, says the paper: Will the Americans not come to regret that it was not they who seized this opportunity?

[Zorin] You know, Vitaliy Ivanovich, I must emphasize here how subtlely the West German journalists have caught the gist of the jealous comments we've heard at the press center in Moscow. And this is confirmed by, among others, THE NEW YORK TIMES. Stepping aside a bit, as it were, from the Soviet Union's relations with the FRG, this paper turns to Soviet-U.S. relations and makes a statement which is very, very indicative: When it comes to the main issue of relations with the Soviet Union, neither Bush nor Dukakis—to whom we'll return a little later—is showing the insight into foreign policy that Gorbachev has, or is putting forward as many innovative proposals, or realizes to the same extent the possibilities of restructuring and reorienting world competition. Unlike Bush and Dukakis—as you rightly remarked, Vitaliy Ivanovich—Kohl has understood this a lot more quickly and much more profoundly.

[Charikov] But all the same I want to stress what I've said already about advancing in all directions. We've talked about Kohl and his visit, but other important events and important contacts have been taking place these days. Take, for example, a topic that's of close concern to you, Vitaliy Ivanovich, the visit of the Brazilian president. Our listeners, many of them at any rate, will no doubt have read the IZVESTIYA interview with the Brazilian president, Sarney, which you conducted on the eve of his visit to Moscow during a special trip to Brazil for the purpose. I think this has been an event of the greatest political importance.

[Kobysh] Certainly, certainly. It's even a little odd that only now are many people—even in our country—discovering the significance of this. Yet it's no great discovery that Brazil has the eighth largest gross national product of any capitalist state. Its production of electronic goods, cars, and machine tools makes it a completely modern state, albeit a developing country. It's a country with a vast and mighty potential, and I have to tell you that here, too, the United States—the ruling circles in the United States—are a bit uneasy, you might say, about having such a neighbor. It's just been reported that the Washington authorities have imposed high customs tariffs on Brazilian goods—so high that they practically bar a number of Brazilian exports from access to the U.S. market. What does this mean? What lies behind it is the fear occasioned by Brazil's exceedingly rapid development—far more rapid than Washington would like. Washington sees Brazil as a large territory that should remain a source of raw materials—but it's turning into a competitor. They're now having to compete not only with Japan and West Germany, but also with Brazil, and that's something that few people in our world are aware of. Brazil is being transformed into a very major force. And on an American scale its significance looms very large, because whereas at one time the United States felt fully in control in that area, and did what it liked, now it is at least having to look over its shoulder at Brazil.

[Charikov] That makes the visit of the Brazilian president to Moscow all the more important.

[Kobysh] Yes. It was the first time in history that a president of Brazil has visited our country. And it was a timely visit—the visit of a president who said he'd come to look at restructuring because Brazil is also experiencing its own kind of restructuring.

[Zorin] Vitaliy Ivanovich, our radio listeners are evidently informed about the political results of the Brazilian president's visit to Moscow—they have read the Soviet press and listened to radio and television—so I would like to take the liberty of posing a question which is not exactly common in our broadcasts. You spoke to him on the eve of his visit to Moscow. What impression did he make, both as a politician and simply as a man, for is it unusual for a president to be involved in politics and write novels and poetry? What did you think of our recent visitor?

[Kobysh] I am perhaps not the best person to answer your question, because exactly 25 years ago I interviewed the president of Brazil in that same presidential palace. So for me it was a return to my youth. The new man I saw in that palace very much reminded me of President Joao Goulart in his openness, his smiling nature, his broadmindedness, and his enormous sympathies for our country and our people. The fact that he is a writer and a journalist meant, of course, that we were able to find a common language very quickly, particularly since I can still remember some Portuguese. After 15 minutes we were chatting away as if we had known each other all our lives. He asked me all about Moscow, about restructuring, and about the difficulties and problems. I told him everything and he looked at his aides and said: It turns out that things are not quite as you have been saying. This is additional information and it will all be very useful on the eve of my talks with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. In short, I think both sides were happy.

[Charikov] You know, so far in this discussion we have twice mentioned restructuring in the context of our partners' attitude toward it. On the first occasion we were talking about FRG Chancellor Kohl, and this time it's Brazil's President Sarney. I think the question of the West's attitude toward our restructuring and the reasons for their support or rejection of it is worthy of a separate discussion. I suggest we leave this subject alone for the moment, Vitaliy Ivanovich, and discuss it separately some other time.

[Kobysh] Fine.

[Charikov] But now I would like to turn to another subject, one which we have partially touched on but which I think deserves particularly close attention today. Valentin Sergeyevich was saying that U.S. political affairs are currently going through a period of, well, not freezing, since they are not frozen, but there is at least a kind of political lull....

[Zorin, interrupting] In the foreign policy sphere.

[Charikov] In the foreign policy sphere, quite correct. Even the Seoul Olympics failed to stir up domestic political life in the United States as much as expected. Incidentally, I have noticed that the U.S. presidential elections take place in the same year as the Olympics—once every 4 years.

[Zorin] Every leap year.

[Charikov] Quite correct. So anyway, I suggest that we turn to the subject of the U.S. presidential election, which will take place in 1 week, on 8 November. On analyzing the U.S. press and talking to U.S. journalists here in Moscow, one can now reach the unequivocal conclusion that, by all appearances, it is Bush who will be the U.S. president. At least all the latest journals we have seen here predict a victory for Bush. Moreover, they analyze why Bush is winning, they analyze the Republican Party's stance in the elections and its advantages over the Democrats' policies, and they analyze the weaknesses of Dukakis, and not only of him personally, but of the Democratic Party as well. In all these analyses one very frequently comes across the typically American concept of the art of campaign management, and I get the impression that the electoral campaign during the U.S. election year is in effect a game within a game. It's a game with rules that are forgotten for exactly 4 years; there are specific techniques by which the candidates try to appear superior and somehow surpass their competitor. The institution of television debates has been invented. These, in effect, fail to provide a political portrait of either of the candidates, while providng a great deal else: They create for Americans an image of the candidate as a man, an image which impresses merely through petty details.

[Zorin] Or fails to impress.

[Charikov] Or fails to impress, quite right—or fails to impress through petty details. So why do they attach such tremendous importance to these debates? It was precisely the second television debate, which took place in Los Angeles, that seems to have finally decided who will, after all, become president.

[Zorin] I wonder if I could express my thoughts on this matter?

[Charikov] Of course.

[Zorin] I agree with what you have said about the election campaign being a game played according to rules. By no means everything that is said during this game becomes the basis of the elected president's policies, since it really is a game within a game. But as for Bush achieving certain victory—and you have on the table in front of you, Igor Pavlovich, the latest issues of the U.S. journals TIME and NEWSWEEK, and I can see that they are indeed making such forecasts.

[Charikov] Here, for example is an issue of TIME dated tomorrow, Monday, with an article entitled: "So Is It All Over?" What they mean is is the matter predetermined, one week before the election?

[Zorin] Yes, that line, that tone is typical of the U.S. press, but I wouldn't rush to any conclusionss. One can agree that Bush is ahead, that Bush has a better chance than Dukakis—I'll say why later. But having studied U.S. domestic politics for many years and having had the opportunity to observe more than one presidential campaign—more than five, actually—I would nonetheless...

[Charikov, interrupting] If my memory serves me correctly, Valentin Sergeyevich, the first presidential campaign you covered was between Kennedy and Nixon, in 1960.

[Kobysh] 1960, quite correct.

[Zorin] Unfortunately, you are quite right.

[Charikov] Why unfortunately?

[Zorin] Well, there is a positive side to it—a certain amount of experience has been gained—it's just that time flies so quickly, Igor Pavlovich. But this experience shows that right up to the final day it is impossible to accurately predict the election result. All sorts of things happen in the United States. We've seen various kinds of things—the assassination of Robert Kennedy, who was winning, out in front during the last stage and when it had already become clear that he had the advantage. I don't by any means wish to say that this is what is going to happen now, but political bombshells can be set off. In these same latest issues I read two things: NEWSWEEK has an article stating that a scandal may erupt in the last few days. The Democrats have prepared a bombshell connected with the major financial scandals over Pentagon machinations with military contracts, in such a way that it directly affects not only the current president, but also the Republicans' presidential candidate.

[Charikov] Yes, all the transgressions that can now be attributed to the present administration automatically apply to Bush too, since he is the vice president. And this kind of emotional outburst could change things at the last moment. They are even stooping to rather dirty affairs: Over the past few days perfectly respectable press organs have been making a campaign out of certain financial affairs of Nancy Reagan. She rented some very

expensive dresses but then failed to return them and appropriated them. Let's say that a not very clean campaign is being waged over this.

But on the other hand, the level of some—and a sufficiently large number—of the American electorate is such that it might create the impression when all is said and done that these dresses did not crop up accidently. The sights are trained on women voters who might be indignant about it, that is, they may ask themselves: How can that be? She rents a dress worth $30,000—first of all what kind of passion is that for luxury—and then she does not return it. The campaign is being waged in a dirty manner, no holds barred, and with all the blows below the belt.

[Zorin] All the more so because, according to the statistics and polls, many American women prefer Dukakis to Bush. There is something about Bush they don't like.

[Charikov] I cited these two examples that indicate that an emotional and political turnaround may occur at the very last minute. Therefore I would not like to make a very precise forecast for the outcome of the election, although I reiterate that, as the situation stands today, Bush is ahead. In this connection I would like to reply to the question on why this is the case, why he is ahead of Dukakis at the present time. Here there are a number of considerations. There are secondary ones. Well, let us say that Dukakis is quite an atypical figure. He is not an Anglo-Saxon. The Americans are accustomed to an Anglo-Saxon being in the White House. And here we have a Greek. The majority of presidents have been Protestants, but this one is not even a Catholic. Perhaps not all our radio listeners know this—he is an Orthodox believer. And his opponents are turning to their advantage the fact that the center of Orthodoxy is Russia. There are a number of other what I would call secondary reasons.

But I would site two reasons as primary ones. One of them is the fact that it has long been noticed that Americans vote first and foremost according to the state of their pocketbook. And at the moment, coming up to the elections, the state of the U.S. economy is more or less favorable. Only specialists can see those serious reefs beneath the surface—those difficulties that are only just on the horizon and may make themselves felt next year. Today the ordinary voter does not see that, and since he considers the situation to be a more less favorable one, he is most likely to vote for the party that is in power today. The second situation gives us something to thing about. I am afraid that some of our colleagues have rushed from one extreme to the other. Previously we talked a great deal about the hostility toward our country on the part of the United States, and today we have quite a lot of material that is very positive, like the peace marches where we are received with embraces, and guest tours where all the audiences are in favor of friendship. This does happen. Such moods do exist. A great deal has changed in the United States over the last few years, but we must openly look at one fact, albeit not a very pleasant one for us. In the sphere of foreign policy Bush takes a considerably more hard-line stance than Dukakis. In the very beginning, Dukakis did in general make all-promising statements both with regard to relaxation of tension and with regard to relations with the Soviet Union. Over the last weeks he has shifted to the right; he has moved to the center, shall we say.

[Zorin] Let's pose the question: Why has he shifted? He is evidently adapting himself to the mood of the electorate. He wants to get those votes. And this means that these moods are in general not at all what he would wish them to be. If we are to be realistic about it, we have to say that in spite of the serious changes in the mood of the American public, all the same, the stereotypes of the past, those things connected with many years of propaganda, with the icy barriers of the cold war, are still not a thing of the past among the American masses. They have not yet become a part of this past. This is the prevailing situation today, and therefore such harsh rhetoric has led to many Americans thinking that Bush will be able to talk to the Russians, taking a more hard-line stance, although I personally—and we have already talked about this—am not inclined to overestimate the preelection rhetoric. Rhetoric is one thing and real politics is something quite different. But those realities I mentioned have in general provided a certain advantage for Bush in advance. But I would not make a final forecast today.

[Kobysh] This means that for all that, you are not absolutely sure it will be Bush, and you concede that it might be Dukakis.

[Zorin] Vitaliy Ivanovich, you don't beat around the bush with your questions; you are trying to put me in a tight corner.

[Kobysh] No, I am just setting a trap for you.

[Zorin] Yes.

[Kobysh] Into which you are falling, in my opinion, because we should give our colleagues from the English magazine THE ECONOMIST their due for their professional skill in this case. They replied to this question in the following manner: that a kind of Bushakis will be elected to the post of president of the United States of America. [laughter] Because whether it is Bush or Dukakis, neither can escape from the problems of the United States you have been talking about just now. Bush will try to appear more liberal than he really is. Dukakis will try to appear more hard-line and conservative than the image of a liberal that has been created.

But all the same, the United States is, historically speaking, losing in the economic competition with a whole series of what are not just countries, but regions. This a serious matter. A lagging behind is seen for decades to come. U.S. scientists themselves have calculated that

this is not just a matter of not enough investments in one sphere of the economy or another. As a result, at the moment U.S. machine building is in third place after Japan's and West Germany's. Little is being invested in education. There is already a so-called brain shortage. And that is a very serious matter. Furthermore those debts that you have already mentioned are simply catastrophic. They amount to almost $3 trillion. And our colleagues at THE NEW YORK TIMES, who are by no means stupid—we know them, the people who to a considerable extent determine public opinion in the United States—calculated that in order to pay off those debts in any kind of effective manner, the United States would have to cut its military spending by $150 billion, that is by half. That will be no easy task.

[Zorin] That is true, but all the same, since there will not be a Bushakis in the White House but Bush or Dukakis, then so as not to confuse our radio listeners I will define my position. I believe that at the present time, a few days before the election, Bush has the advantage, although certain unexpected things may occur. Well, we shall very soon find out how it will all end.

[Charikov] Comrades, radio listeners, we shall find out about that not just soon, but specifically from Valentin Sergeyevich Zorin who is setting out for the United States, for Washington, to report on the pre-election—what is already the election—campaign of 1988. We wish you every success, Valentin Sergeyevich, and we thank you, respected comrades, radio listeners, for your attention. All the very best to you.

'Review' Highlights Kohl Visit, UN Day

PM0111160188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Oct 88 Second Edition p 4

[Vsevolod Ovchinnikov "International Review": "The World This Week"]

[Text] The ice has begun to break.... In my opinion, this common assessment of the Soviet-FRG talks by both countries' leaders may also be used in a broader context. The winds of change are breaking up the ice floes of alienation and mistrust that have imprisoned the world for decades and impeded normal blood circulation in that single complex organism called mankind.

New Chapter

There is no doubt that last week's Soviet-FRG Moscow summit aroused very great interest among the international public. M.S. Gorbachev described FRG Federal Chancellor H. Kohl's visit as an unusual event both from the viewpoint of bilateral relations and from the viewpoint of European and world politics. According to the federal chancellor, FRG and USSR leaders have set themselves the task of ensuring that their exchange of visits opens a new chapter in Soviet-FRG relations.

At this crucial stage in history, Europe may play a great role by virtue of its political experience and its intellectual and economic potential. But in turn the general European climate depends in many respects on states like the USSR and the FRG. For several decades Eastern and Western Europe have lived not only in isolation but in an atmosphere of hostility. The Helsinki Act initiated the all-European process. Madrid, Stockholm, Vienna, and the four Soviet-U.S. summits have stimulated the formation of trust, and it became possible to put forward the idea of an "all-European home," which was not only seized upon by the public but also aroused the interest of political circles and governments.

Mutual security is the cornerstone for the construction of a new Europe. This was discussed in detail at the talks between M.S. Gorbachev and H. Kohl. The Soviet Union is interested in ensuring that an analogous process in the conventional arms sphere, primarily in Europe, takes place at the same time as nuclear disarmament, on the path toward which the first fundamental step has been taken. This is dictated by the specific demographic, industrial, and ecological nature of our continent and its place in the destiny of civilization.

At the Vienna meeting, 23 Warsaw Pact and NATO countries are completing the elaboration of a mandate for talks on reductions in armed forces and conventional arms in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals. The following sequence of events would be logical in this process: making an inventory of each side's equipment; eliminating the imbalances; and evenly reducing the potential remaining to acceptably low levels in order to ultimately dismantle the very material potential for sudden attack. The Soviet Union, like other Warsaw Pact states, adheres to precisely that concept. The FRG Government has its own ideas on this score. But both sides are united in the belief that it is time to sit down at the negotiating table.

We must not count on things going smoothly. Both the complexity of the problems and the large number of partners will make themselves felt. There is a danger that the pace of the talks will lag behind the demands of the time. That is why the Soviet leader mentioned his proposal regarding a "European Reykjavik" in the course of the FRG chancellor's visit—a meeting between the supreme leaders of the European states, and also the United States and Canada. The point of this idea is to give the talks a powerful political boost and not to allow them to turn into useless wranglings over details, as has frequently happened in the past.

The Moscow meeting showed that new opportunities have emerged under the conditions of restructuring for business contacts, and these can back up Soviet-FRG relations with a reliable material base. The Soviet Union's intention to change its position in the international division of labor and to embark on the path of active economic cooperation in the outside world was confirmed. This does not mean that Moscow expects any

aid like the "Marshall Plan." We are confident that we will resolve our own problems through our own efforts. But we are ready to make full use of the possibilities provided by foreign ties. Both the ruinous arms race and the partition of the world economy and trade according to ideological principles and discriminatory barriers, hypocritically justified by the "Soviet military threat," benefit no one.

Suffice it to read the titles of the Soviet-FRG agreements signed in Moscow concerning economic, scientific and technical, cultural, and environmental conservation cooperation, to see the exclusively peaceful thrust—be it the modernization of approximately 200 USSR food and light industry enterprises, training specialists in management, or the joint production of medical equipment. Nevertheless some people across the ocean are already raging over the fact that the federal chancellor allegedly brought with him to Moscow a large group of industrialists controlling state-of-the-art technologies. Calls can already be heard for Cocom to nip in the bud the intentions to "subsidize Soviet restructuring." According to THE NEW YORK TIMES, the U.S. Administration and the Congress are alarmed by the fact that commercial banks in the FRG, France, Italy, Britain, and Japan have given the Soviet Union more credit in the last few days than in the previous 3 years.

Yet it is this mutually advantageous cooperation that is strengthening the foundation of trust on which—as the federal chancellor pointed out in Moscow—good-neighborly relations are based. That is why the Warsaw Pact Committee of Foreign Ministers which met recently in Budapest devoted great attention to further improving confidence-building measures. The ministers stated that broadening confidence-building measures would facilitate progress in reducing armed forces and conventional arms in Europe and would be conducive to openness and predictability in military activity.

Peacemaker's Mission

On Monday, 24 October, mankind celebrated UN Day. This has traditionally been the start of Disarmament Week. As the most representative international forum, the United Nations is called upon to play an active role in removing the main threat to mankind—nuclear catastrophe.

This time the world community had particular grounds for celebrating UN Day in a festive manner. People everywhere are talking about the revival of the United Nations and the intensification of its peacemaking role. The United Nations mirrors the changing world. When its predominant trait was division, it was difficult to implement in practical terms the concept of united nations. The renaissance, that is the revival of the United Nations that is now being discussed, reflects the improvement in the international climate, above all in the central area of world politics—U.S.-Soviet relations. Having initiated real nuclear disarmament, Moscow and Washington have begun to seek ways to resolve regional conflicts. This field of activity has, as it were, revealed UN potential and given scope to its peacemaking energy.

The cease-fire in the 7-year bloody Iran-Iraq conflict and the conclusion of the Geneva agreements on a political settlement around Afghanistan graphically demonstrated how fruitful this organization's mediatory mission can be. There are also many other portentous events on the plus side this year: dialogue between the leaders of the communities in divided Cyprus; positive response to the UN initiative on Western Sahara; the movement toward a political settlement around Cambodia; the contacts on resolving problems on the Korean peninsula; and finally, the quadrapartite talks on southern Africa.

The UN Security Council resolution on granting independence to Namibia has been waiting 10 years to be implemented. This is the last African country under colonial domination as it is occupied by RSA troops. This year the prerequisites took shape for resolving the conflict in the south of Africa. Angola, the RSA, Cuba, and the United States are close to an agreement on specific measures regarding the implementation of the UN plan on Namibia and ensuring the security of states in the region. After the withdrawal of South African troops from Angolan territory, it is envisaged that the Cuban soldiers that offered aid to Angola will return home. The quadrapartite talks fit in with the overall trend of the political settlement of regional conflicts taking account of the interests of all the sides involved.

Angolan President J.E. dos Santos, chairman of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Party of Labor, recently paid a working visit to Moscow. At talks with him the Soviet side confirmed its solidarity with the African peoples' struggle against the last bastion of colonialism and racism in the south of the continent and assessed highly the contribution made to this cause by the peoples of the "Frontline" States.

They Are Evading an Answer

How do official circles in the leading Pacific powers—the United States and Japan—assess the new Soviet initiatives expounded in Krasnoyarsk? In particular, how do they regard the seven concrete proposals put forward there to develop the Vladivostok program? It is difficult to get an answer to this quite pertinent question.

"It was easier for Washington to deal with sharp statements from Moscow than with its peace proposals. A graphic manifestation of this is Washington's diffident reaction to the Krasnoyarsk initiatives, which forced the United States to take the defensive," the FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW published in Hong Kong pointed out. "Even the Soviet support for the idea of nuclear-free zones creates problems for the Pentagon, since it affects the principle of not confirming and not denying the presence of nuclear weapons on board U.S. ships."

It is indeed difficult to take exception to and call into question the Krasnoyarsk ideas. How can the statement that the USSR will not increase the number of any nuclear weapons in the Asia-Pacific region, and that it urges the United States to follow this example, be tied in with conjectures regarding the "Soviet threat"? What can be regarded as dangerous in the proposal not to build up naval forces in the Asia-Pacific region? Why not discuss on a multilateral basis the question of how to reduce military confrontation in areas where the shores of the Soviet Union, China, Japan, and North and South Korea converge? (Incidentally, this idea is consonant with the Japanese socialists' proposal to hold a conference for the states adjoining the Sea of Japan.) Finally, who would be threatened by a negotiating mechanism designed to examine any proposals concerning the security of the Asia-Pacific region? (Especially since, unlike the European system of confidence-building measures, there is no monitoring of military activity there.)

Tokyo officialdom verbally welcomes Moscow's shift to Far East problems. But it immediately turns to Washington because supposedly almost all Soviet proposals concern the U.S. military presence in the Asia-Pacific region in one way or another. In fact, the United States has a network of military bases in direct proximity to Soviet territory whereas the USSR has no comparable facilities. The U.S. Fleet regularly uses aircraft carriers, battleships, and landing ships for exercises near Soviet shores from the Barents to the Sea of Japan, whereas no large-scale Soviet maneuvers take place near the United States' Pacific coast.

Nevertheless an official spokesman of the Japanese Foreign Ministry stated: "The balance of forces in the Asia-Pacific region is based on the fact that the the U.S. fleet in the region counteracts all branches of the Soviet Armed Forces in the region, including ground forces and aviation.." This is a repetition of the U.S. State Department's and the Pentagon's beloved thesis. As a terra firma power with a large army, the USSR, they say, forcefully advocates the limitation of naval acitivity out of selfish interests. Without well-defended maritime communications the United States, they claim, would be in the same position as the Soviet Union without railroads.

Of course, this is not the point. According to USSR Defense Ministry data, the United States has more than 3 times more warships and 10 times more deck aviation in the Asia-Pacific region. That is why Washington strategists who so love to talk about Soviet superiority in terms of tanks and artillery in central Europe only acknowledge "asymmetries" there and refuse point-blank to talk about limiting naval activity in the Far East.

The package of Krasnoyarsk initiatives includes a proposal to create on the basis of the Krasnoyarsk radar a center for international cooperation in the research and use of space for peaceful purposes. A Soviet Government statement published recently proposes discussing with the United States and other interested states the specific measures needed for such reequipping. The readiness was also expressed to destroy the remaining elements of the Soviet radars dismantled at the Sary-Shagan testing range (it was originally proposed to use them for economic purposes). The USSR hopes that the United States will try to eliminate the Soviet side's anxiety in connection with the deployment and construction of U.S. radars in Greenland and Britain.

By implementing these constructive steps on the basis of goodwill, the Soviet Union is proceeding on the premise that strict observation of the ABM Treaty by both of its signatories is particularly important in contemporary conditions where the question of forming an all-embracing system of international peace and security has arisen on the agenda.

Ukraine's Kravets on Disarmament at UN Committee
AU0111002588 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY Russian 25 Oct 88 p 3

[RATAU report on speech by V.A. Kravets, Ukrainian minister of foreign affairs, at the first committee of the 43d session of the UN General Assembly: "For a General and Complete Disarmament"; date not given]

[Text] **New York RATAU—V.A. Kravets, Ukrainian SSR minister of foreign affairs, took the floor in the general discussion in the first committee of the 43d session of the UN General Assembly.**

Mankind has entered a very responsible period of its history, he said. Real prospects have appeared for shaping a nonnuclear and nonviolent world, free from intimidation, mutual threats, and distrust. However, a radical turn toward an improvement in this direction still has not been made. An enormous number of nuclear weapons capable of destroying everything alive on earth are being maintained, they are continually modernized, new kinds of weapons are being made, and the attempts to open space for their deployment have not stopped.

All this insistently calls on international community to redouble its efforts to develop and deepen the disarmament process and to make it irreversible. The practical accomplishment of this task has been initiated with the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. The agreement was reached on the basis of balanced interests, when each side, guided by common sense, made concessions. This resulted in common benefit, in a step toward strengthening security for all.

The Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles was an example of the new effective political thinking; it marked the first step toward an effective nuclear disarmament, a step that should be followed by others. The 50-percent reduction of USSR and U.S. strategic offensive weapons under the

conditions of observing the ABM Treaty is undoubtedly of priority importance. Like all socialist and many other countries, the Ukrainian SSR consistently insists on the observation of the ABM Treaty as it was signed in 1972, because partial measures in the field of nuclear disarmament will not produce the expected results as long as space is open for weapons.

This a matter of concern for all states without any exception. The role of the United Nations is important in this regard. International mechanisms to monitor the preclusion of the arms race in space could be created under its auspices.

The Soviet Union has proposed creating an international space inspectorate to preclude the presence of weapons in space. The idea of setting up an international agency for monitoring satellites deserves attention. There are also other constructive proposals.

We hope that the present General Assembly session will contribute an appreciable part to the practical realization of these proposals. We should authorize the Geneva disarmament conference to take immediate steps to preclude the arms race in space.

The potential of multilateral disarmament mechanisms is also a long way from being fully utilized to settle the problem of banning nuclear tests absolutely and universally. An appropriate multilateral agreement elaborated as soon as possible within the framework of the conference would meet the interests of all states and would greatly contribute toward nuclear disarmament.

In the context of multilateral efforts for a fundamental settlement of the problem of banning nuclear tests, bilateral Soviet-American talks are of top importance. In view of the real conditions and of the extent to which the other nuclear powers are prepared to settle this problem, the Soviet-American talks are aimed at settling the problem by such intermediate steps as restricting the number and strength of tests.

Such an approach is also acceptable and deserves support from the international community. The General Assembly should reiterate in an unequivocal manner that the final objective of both bilateral and multilateral efforts is the complete and universal ban on nuclear tests.

This task is realistic and fully achievable. The international community has already accumulated experience in banning tests of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere, space, and underwater. It is now also essential to ban underground nuclear tests.

The international community is now on the threshold of another breakthrough in the field of disarmament. What we have in mind is the chemical sector.

The Geneva conference on disarmament has done a great deal toward drafting the text of a convention on the absolute and universal ban and destruction of chemical weapons. Even now one might say that the adoption of this document would be particularly important. Such a convention would symbolize the successful accomplishment of a very difficult task by means of multilateral diplomacy, and would balance the interests of all states. We are aware of the fact that there are a number of proposals still not definitely agreed upon at the conference. As in other cases, a scrupulous, adjusted, and carefully weighed approach is necessary here, and account must be taken of the interests of all sides. I would like to call on the participants of the talks to correlate the achievements and pending problems, and would like to hope that this comparison will give them additional strength to complete their work more rapidly and successfully. This is the hope of all mankind.

In addition to accomplishing tasks in the field of nuclear weapons in space and banning and eliminating chemical weapons, it is also important to begin reducing armed forces and conventional weapons without delay.

The Ukrainian SSR is confident of the possibility and feasibility of a nonnuclear guarantee for security, a guarantee based on conventional weapons sufficient for defense, but not for an attack. The concept of defensive sufficiency and of a nonoffensive strategy presupposes that forces should be balanced at a lower level and that military structures should be gradually changed in order to eliminate their potential for a sudden attack and for launching offensive operations.

These issues are particularly important for the European Continent, where armed forces and conventional weapons have reached a critical level. The principled position assumed by the socialist countries in the sphere of reducing conventional weapons in Europe has been confirmed and developed in the documents adopted in July 1988 by the Warsaw conference of the defensive Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee. The Ukrainian SSR adheres to the idea that commissions should be established as soon as possible for the talks on reducing armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals, and for the resumed work of the conference on the measures to enhance confidence, security, and cooperation on this continent.

The issue of eliminating military bases abroad has become topical. Any military presence should be kept within its national frontiers. As a topical proposal and as the first step toward settling this problem, UN member states regularly present the UN secretary general with data on the military presence on their territories. The interests in a universal security equal for all dictate the need to restrict and reduce naval movements and intensive military activities in various parts of the world's oceans. This is a large-scale global problem but, to start with, it also may be settled step by step, starting with an

agreement on the most simple measures, implying elements of mutual understanding. The point is to guarantee above all the safety of maritime communications and to extend the measures of confidence to the naval forces. A regional approach to the problem seems to be effective, too.

It goes without saying that the measures restricting naval activity should primarily apply to countries possessing the world's largest fleets. To carry out such measures, it is essential to invigorate multilateral efforts within the UN framework. The naval component of state power must not be exempted from common disarmament efforts, but on the contrary, in view of its increasing importance, should be subject to the most earnest examination during the talks on curbing the arms race.

The Ukrainian SSR, the speaker continued, seconds the proposal to convene a special international conference to discuss problems concerning the limitation and reduction of naval forces, as well as measures to boost confidence in, the safety of, and the guarantees for free navigation in the sea. To examine these questions, it seems to be expedient to convene a special session of the UN Security Council.

The efforts made at present in the field of reducing weapons will only produce concrete results when there is more confidence, openness, and glasnost in the military sphere. These elements are a kind of driving force which should be particularly attended to in the mechanism of disarmament.

Verification, as an integral part of the efforts made to restrict weapons and to disarm, is an important means of boosting confidence and guaranteeing national security. The problems of verification and of compliance with agreements achieved in the sphere of disarmament must not be an exclusive prerogative enjoyed by individual states. All mankind is interested in its implementation. This dictates the need for a more active UN part in verification. We regard as opportune the Soviet Union's proposal, made at the third special session on disarmament, to create under UN auspices a mechanism for an extensive international verification, an international verification agency. The proposed data bank and the mechanism for monitoring the abstention from nuclear tests are also aimed at international verification. The Ukrainian SSR considers that the time has come to examine these ideas in the most earnest way in order to translate them gradually, starting with the simple agreed measures, into practice.

At present, the United Nations more than ever can and should justify its prestige as an authentic center coordinating the activities of all states to save present and future generations from the calamities of war. Peace and law and order cannot be guaranteed by the efforts of two or three states, even if they are the most powerful. This is precisely why is it essential to increase UN activity.

In this respect, states should aim their common efforts mainly at increasing the moral and political validity of the documents adopted on disarmament by consensus, and at making fuller use of the potential of the UN Security Council as an organization bearing, in line with Article 26 of the UN Charter, responsibility for "the formulation of plans for creating a system to regulate armaments."

The Ukrainian SSR also adheres to the idea of further boosting the prestige of the UN secretary general and of assisting him to the maximum extent in discharging his duties in conformity with the UN Charter.

We consider that the main purpose of increasing the efficiency of the UN activity in the sphere of disarmament, V.A. Kravets said in conclusion, is to find feasible and universally valid solutions for all pressing problems. The times insistently dictate the need to resolutely give up the practice of adopting resolutions just to fix differing positions. What we need are consensual decisions oriented toward common actions.

Multilateral cooperation among states in accomplishing common human tasks is an important condition for the survival and progress of humanity.

Ukraine Proposes Security Council Meeting

LD3110222288 Moscow TASS in English 2015 GMT 31 Oct 88

[Text] New York October 31 TASS—In a verbal note to the U.N. secretary-general, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic proposed convening a special meeting of the U.N. Security Council at the level of foreign ministers to discuss tasks in the area of nuclear disarmament. The note was published here today.

The document says the Security Council could become a bridge linking two elements of the concept of security through disarmament, recorded in the final document of the first special session of the United Nations General Assembly on disarmament. In order to enhance the Security Council's role and effectiveness in the solution of disarmament problems, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic suggested that the problems of relationship between disarmament and development be discussed at a special summit of the Security Council members.

Peace and law can no longer be ensured by the actions of two or three powers, even the strongest ones, it is emphasized in the note of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Internationalism of the efforts of states in the United Nations framework and on the basis of the United Nations Charter enhances the system of universal security and is an earnest of the survival and progress of humanity.

UN Report Weighs International Security System

PM0111151188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Oct 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "The Concept of All-Embracing Security"]

[Text] New York 28 Oct—In conformity with the UN General Assembly decision, Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar has published a report on an all-embracing system of international peace and security in which he stresses the importance of further discussion of the concept.

After studying the opinion of the governments of many countries, international and national nongovernmental organizations, politicians, and public figures, the UN secretary general points out that many of them are convinced that extensive discussion of this question both bilaterally and multilaterally, particularly during the 43d General Assembly session, would serve to deepen understanding and cooperation. Constructive and nonconfrontational discussion of the issue with the extensive participation of UN states would bring the current exercise of international relations closer to the comprehensive system of international peace and security envisaged in the UN Charter. This would also help develop broad international dialogue, above all within the UN framework, on ways and means of ensuring all-embracing security in the military, political, economic, environmental, humanitarian—including human rights—and other spheres on the basis of strict observance of the charter and enhancement of the United Nations' role and efficiency.

At the same time, as emerges from the report, certain forces are seeking to build up obstacles to the development of dialogue on establishing all-embracing security. The UN secretary general notes in the report that this group of states proposes "the avoidance of any steps which could lead to a change in the definition of international security" and thinks that the UN Charter already "contains the necessary ideas on international peace and security."

The thesis expressing concern for the "inviolability" of the UN Charter, which is in no way threatened by the concept of all-embracing security, as it is aimed precisely at strengthening the charter in contemporary conditions, was advanced by a group of Western countries headed by the United States during discussion of this question at the two previous General Assembly sessions. The international community is increasingly rejecting this maneuver, as shown in particular by the two resolutions adopted by the UN General Assembly on this question at the 41st and 42d sessions and the UN secretary general's report published today.

IAEA Chief on Impact of Chernobyl at UN

LD2810104988 Moscow TASS in English 1038 GMT 28 Oct 88

[Text] New York October 28 TASS—The U.N. General Assembly started Thursday the discussion of an annual report of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).

Addressing delegates, Hans Blix, IAEA director general, touched upon the safety of nuclear power engineering for the natural environment, which is a very important problem.

He said: "The emotional and intellectual fall-out from Chernobyl was even more globally spread than the radioactive fall-out and it has had a considerable impact on public opinion and energy policies. The world picture is heterogeneous, however, and the scepticism vis-a-vis nuclear power which was nurtured by Chernobyl is beginning to be somewhat offset by an increasing awareness of the serious environmental consequences of the current levels of use of fossil fuels. The greenhouse effect of a warming world atmosphere is now seen by scientists and policy-makers as a very real threat, and it is becoming more widely realized that, apart from hydropower, nuclear power is the only source that is now available to generate electricity in the quantities, form and reliability needed without producing any of the greenhouse gases".

"During 1987, 22 new nuclear power plants came into operation, bringing the worldwide total to 417 power reactors...in 26 countries. So far this year, some ten new plants have come on line. Of the world's electric energy, 16 percent was produced by nuclear power in 1987, and this figure may be expected to increase to close to 20 percent—or the same as hydropower—in the mid-1990s". According to Blix, huge dams also drastically affect the environment, while the burning of coal, oil and gas contributes to the greenhouse effect and makes a negative impact on forests and lakes.

According to the IAEA director general, the quest for alternative sources of energy is under way. However, it would be unrealistic to expect them to be used on a large scale in the near future. Of course, nuclear power engineering is not a panacea against environmental pollution. On the whole, the degree of its safety is rather high and continues to grow, although the degree of risk will never be zero. "To help protect man from harmful radiation while making use of radiation for the benefit of man are objectives of the IAEA".

Research finds show that the radiation received by man as a result of the functioning of all the nuclear power plants of the world is 12,000 times smaller than the natural dose. "During the first year after the Chernobyl accident the population of Europe, including the European part of the Soviet Union, received on average an additional dose of radiation which corresponds to less than one third of what it receives from natural sources

during a year. For the most exposed population in the Belorussian region, the first year average dose was lower than one year's dose from natural background radiation:. Blix specified that "individuals and groups which were subjected to high doses in connection with Chernobyl are subject to special risks. Fortunately, the number of these individuals is not high".

The IAEA director general spoke in detail about measures taken by IAEA for improving the safety of nuclear reactors and about the solution of the problem of the disposal of radioactive waste.

Touching upon the IAEA activities in exercising control over the fulfilment of the treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, Blix pointed out that IAEA safeguards covered today 95 percent of all the nuclear reactors in the world. However, he expressed concern over the nuclear reactors of Israel and South Africa. Talks are under way with South Africa on concluding an agreement providing for this kind of safeguards. This would permit to make a step towards the creation of a nuclear-free zone in Africa.

"Mankind is not threatened by some 420 nuclear power stations which produce energy for our well-being without burdening our atmosphere. It is not these hi-tech creations that should be decommissioned, but rather the some 50,000 nuclear warheads, whether they are located on land, ships or planes or planned to hang above us in space, as swords of Damocles", Blix said in conclusion.

Article Argues Need for UN Naval Force

PM2810153188 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 26 Oct 88 p 3

[Article by A. Mozgovoy: "Helmets, Berets, and... Sailors' Caps"]

[Text] The UN flag can be seen in many of the world's "trouble spots" today—Lebanon, Cyprus, Iran and Iraq, and those countries where international military contingents (the "Blue Helmets") and observers' missions (the "Blue Berets") are supporting a fragile state of peace or observing the fulfillment of armistice commitments adopted by warring sides. So far the seas and oceans have remained outside the sphere of UN military control. However, crises are becoming more frequent in that area. The situation in the Persian Gulf is a clear example. That is why the Soviet Union suggested the idea of creating a UN naval force to improve the situation in the region and ensure real freedom of navigation.

This task was not taken off the agenda after Iran and Iraq ceased hostilities. The danger of mines in the Persian Gulf remains great, and any accident or act of provocation is capable of fueling the flames of war again.

The Western attitude toward the Soviet proposal has been and remains ambiguous. The United States and its allies, primarily among the military, put forward a number of counterarguments. They claim, for example, that "it will be necessary to work literally side by side with Soviet naval forces, who will be able to study the latest equipment and armaments" of the North Atlantic bloc "at close range." An exaggerated fear. First, because the opportunity "to study the latest equipment and armaments" will be given not only to Soviet sailors but to those of NATO, too; and second, because quite detailed information on the tactical and technical data of ships and weapons can easily be obtained from generally available naval reference books.

There is another objection: "The establishment of liaison with Soviet warships will present considerable difficulties." That isn't a serious objection either. Even without specialist liaison officers on board, the commanders of Soviet and U.S. ships already maintain such contacts as they need. For instance, at the beginning of this year a Soviet minesweeper in the Persian Gulf signaled U.S. ships about the danger of mines in the shipping region. That danger was eliminated through joint efforts. THE NEW YORK TIMES called that incident "limited Soviet-U.S. cooperation."

NATO's diplomats, unlike its military men, proved more flexible. Prior to the armistice on the Iran-Iraq front, they asserted that in principle they were not opposed to the Soviet proposal, although, they claimed, it was contrary to the practice of the United Nations, which uses its forces to maintain the peace or to observe a cease-fire; but because the combat operations were still going, on it was premature to talk about creating a UN naval force. Now that this casuistical obstacle has been removed, they simply prefer not to comment on this theme, even though, I believe, they realize the relevance of the problem perfectly well.

After all, it is not only the Persian Gulf at issue here. Crises could occur at any moment in the Mediterranean, in international straits, and in other waters with busy shipping routes. Permanent or temporary UN forces are simply essential there. The world's oceans are recognized as "mankind's common asset," and only the combined efforts of the world community can effectively regulate the activity of all states there or resolve the conflicts that occur.

The process of political and economic cooperation among states with different social systems which is gathering momentum will be all the more successful the sooner areas of cooperation in the military sphere are found. The confidence-building measures implemented in accordance with the Helsinki and Stockholm accords have considerably broadened the framework of mutual understanding between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. Meetings and talks between the two alliances' defense ministers are taking place. Military men from the opposing groupings have begun reciprocal visits to formerly secret installations. All this is good. But the next step must be taken. It can be implemented by using the universal mechanism of the United Nations, enhancing

the role of its military staff committee, and making broader use of the international peace-keeping forces. And that step is easier to take on the seas, which, by virtue of their legal status, are international.

Academy of Sciences Welcomes European Contacts
LD2710141288 Moscow TASS in English 1344 GMT 27 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 27 TASS—"We are witnessing the activization of broader contacts with Europe in Soviet foreign policy, and this process cannot but be welcomed", Vitaliy Zhurkin, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, director of the Institute of Europe under the USSR Academy of Sciences, said here today at an information meeting of Soviet scientists and experts with journalists. "Visits to this country of the heads of government of Austria, Italy and West Germany, the coming arrival in Moscow of President Francois Mitterrand of France, an announced visit of Mikhail Gorbachev to West Germany and the visits the Soviet leaders plan to pay to other European countries are the latest evidence of that". Apart from it, he continued, the European orientation is not developing at the expense of other, for example, the American or Pacific contacts. It is developing as a result of the growing scope and resourcefulness of Soviet foreign policy.

Margarita Maksimova, professor of the Institute of World Economics and International Relations under the USSR Academy of Sciences, added that the activization of the European orientation included both politics and economy. Specifically, during the visit to the USSR of Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl of West Germany interesting economic agreements were reached and constructive steps were taken which are able to produce good results.

Much will depend, Professor Maksimova continued, on the success of the economic reform in the USSR, on the one hand, and the readiness of the West European countries to lift barriers on trade in modern technology set by the Cocom lists, on the other. It is also very important that the putting into practice of the idea of creating a single West European market should not lead to the growth of protectionist trends.

Colonel Viktor Koltunov, spokesman for the USSR Defense Ministry, pointed out that disarmament problems were a source of concern for the whole of humanity, but Europeans feel especially strongly about them. European countries took a most active part in the working out of the Treaty on the Elimination of Soviet and American Medium- and Shorter-Range Missiles. Their opinion is being taken into account during the drawing up of an agreement on the reduction of strategic offensive armaments, they are the main characters at talks on the reduction of the armed forces and armaments from the Atlantic to the Urals.

Yuriy Reshetov, head of the Department for Humanitarian and Cultural Relations of the USSR Foreign Ministry, believes that humanitarian cooperation is a kind of an incentive for the development of cooperation in other spheres. He said that radical changes in Soviet policy in the humanitarian sphere bring rather tangible results. Specifically, they made President Reagan give up his notion of the Soviet Union as an "evil empire" and start a constructive dialogue. We are glad that we are starting a dialogue and cooperation in the humanitarian sphere with European countries as well, he said in conclusion.

Journalists Discuss Professional Contacts
LD0111175388 Moscow TASS in English 1707 GMT 1 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 1 TASS—Humanitarian questions, expansion of professional contacts between journalists and information exchange problems have been discussed today at the third panel of the meeting "Journalists in Europe—As We See Our Common Home and Each Other", which is under way here.

Contacts between journalists of different nationalities are needed to have a full-blooded exchange of opinions, information and better mutual understanding, speakers noted.

Hasan Ercakica, editor in chief of the Turkish-Cypriot newspaper YENI DUEZEN has said that journalists of the Turkish and Greek communities of Cyprus meet only in third countries and do not have such a possibility at home. The journalists who are coming out against manifestations of chauvinism are being victimized, their newspapers have huge fines laid on them, which they are unable to pay. This is done to make journalists keep silent.

Albertas Laurinchukas, well-known Lithuanian writer and journalist who specializes in international affairs, has said in his speech that in the period of glasnost for Soviet journalists it became both easier and more difficult to work. It is easier since they themselves chose appropriate topics, and more difficult—since they now bear greater responsibility for truthful coverage of these or other events. "The Law on the Press", now being prepared for discussion, provides for the right of citizens to have legal protection from unfounded accusations by journalists, and the latter are given the right to get any information, he said.

First deputy chairman of the Board of the Union of Journalists of the USSR Ivan Zubkov acquainted the participants in the meeting with legal aspects of activities of Soviet journalists.

Replying to assertions by Austrian and West German participants in the meeting that there are still banned topics for Soviet journalists, he said that there are bans, but they are stipulated by the Constitution of the USSR. Banned in the Soviet Union is publication of secret materials, he said, and also propoganda of war, calls for strife between nationalities, for racism and chauvinism.

United States & Canada

Shultz Speaks on Nuclear Nonproliferation

LD0211093388 Moscow TASS in English 0905 GMT 2 Nov 88

[Text] Washington November 2 TASS—U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz has addressed an international nuclear energy forum currently in session here. He dwelt on the more burning problems of the nuclear age of ours.

The U.S. secretary of state first and foremost drew attention to the importance of strengthening the nuclear weapon non-proliferation regime. "Despite difficulties, the effort to prevent nuclear proliferation has succeeded", he said. Certainly, there are plenty of problems in this field, but "the main point is that compared with predictions of 15 to 20 years ago, it hasn't turned out that way. It's much better", he said.

However, "stopping the spread of nuclear weapons and weapons technology is not enough", the U.S. secretary of state stressed. In this connection he underscored the immense importance of "creative and sustained" work to reach agreements providing for a reduction in nuclear armaments. He made a special mention of the evolution in Soviet-U.S. relations in recent years and in the two countries' approaches to handling problems which are on the agenda of bilateral negotiations.

He said "the United States has engaged with the Soviet Union with unprecedented vigour and effectiveness" on all aspects of the agenda which has become traditional—human rights, bilateral relations, arms control and regional conflicts. "The environment in which we pursue these issues has changed fundamentally", Shultz said. "In this environment, enhanced efforts in the areas of arms control and nuclear security have paid off". And the starting point for this success is the concept posed by President Reagan and Soviet leader Gorbachev at their first meeting in Geneva.

The first specific result was the conclusion of the historic agreement on eliminating Soviet and American intermediate-and shorter-range missiles, the U.S. secretary of state went on. The INF Treaty is "the first agreement to require reductions in nuclear arsenals rather than simply slowing down increases in nuclear capability". "It promises a safer and more stable world", and its provisions on inspection, monitoring and data exchange "set valuable precedents for future agreements". Shultz said that "these provisions will produce openness and cooperative contacts on sensitive military matters that, over time, will profoundly affect how we and the Soviets perceive one another".

The same approach is typical of the negotiations on elaborating a treaty on halving the arsenals of strategic offensive armaments of the USSR and the United States, which are ongoing in Geneva.

The secretary of state stressed that "continued efforts on non-proliferation and intensified negotiations on arms control and arms reductions can help meet the challenges of the nuclear age".

Further on Decision To Demolish U.S. Embassy

Gerasimov Comments

PM0111161388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 8

[S. Dadyrkin and G. Charodeyev report under the rubric "At the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center": "Outbreak of Spy Mania?"]

[Text] According to reports from Washington, President R. Reagan "has decided to propose to Congress demolishing" the new U.S. Embassy administrative building in Moscow, which is almost finished, and rebuilding it "from the ground up." IZVESTIYA asked G.I. Gerasimov, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Administration, to comment on these reports.

"I want to stress," he stated, "that, in our opinion, the resolution of the question of the fate of the U.S. Embassy in Moscow is the Americans' own affair. The building is an American one, they themselves agreed on the site for it, it was constructed to a U.S. design under the observation and with the efforts of U.S. specialists and using U.S. money. If the U.S. Administration believes that the time has come to knock down and discard the bricks that it has put together, it is free to do as it pleases with the embassy.

"Of course, the intergovernmental agreement on conditions for constructing the corresponding embassy complexes in Washington and Moscow, which was concluded in 1972, must be strictly observed. Our side will present no obstacles to the Americans carrying out the work they may have in mind.

"What is given as the reason for the proposed demolition? The Americans say that the building is allegedly bristling with listening devices. They state that there has been some kind of technical penetration and electronic espionage... At the same time, despite our repeated statements on this score, the Americans have not shown anyone a single listening device.

"We don't understand why the U.S. Administration has decided to raise this question at such a crucial moment in Soviet-U.S. relations, when the trend toward improving and normalizing relations is developing through joint efforts. This outbreak of spy mania and anti-Soviet rhetoric is only to be regretted."

It was also announced at the briefing that the United Nations has circulated a report from its secretary general on the question of an all-embracing system of international peace and security. This document was prepared in accordance with the UN General Assembly resolution

adopted on the initiative of the group of socialist countries. It aims to develop international dialogue on all-embracing security by holding further discussions and consultations.

The readiness expressed by J. Perez de Cuellar to assist the UN General Assembly in discussing this question both officially and unofficially evokes satisfaction in the Soviet Union.

U.S. Anti-Soviet Rhetoric Hit

PM0111114988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Oct 88 Second Edition p 5

[G. Vasilyev "Rejoinder": "Not Carthage, But Destroy It!"]

[Text] "Carthage must be destroyed!"—this was how the Roman writer and statesman Cato the Elder would end his speeches. That was long ago, in the 3d and 2d centuries BC. Cato had grounds for such destructive aspirations. But fantastic is the only word to describe the situation nowadays, when people are demanding with equal passion and persistence the destruction—no, not of an enemy city—but of their own embassy. Yes, precisely their embassy. The ancient Roman senator would be considerably amazed to learn what the senators and congressmen in America have set in train.

This is not the first year that this affair has been unfolding. So many speeches have been made inside the U.S. Congress, demanding the dismantling of the new administrative building of the U.S. Embassy in Moscow which is now virtually ready. Why? Because, as certain congressmen and senators maintain, the new building is "crammed with microphones and listening devices." The U.S. legislators fulminating against the "perfidious Soviets" have been unable to adduce any proof to confirm their fabrications. Conversely, at a press conference in the new Soviet Embassy complex in Washington in April 1987 journalists were shown not invented but real listening devices planted by the U.S. special services. Without blowing that incident up to the dimensions of an interstate conflict, the Soviet side cleared the building of "bugs," and our diplomats are ready to occupy it. The Soviet-U.S. agreement provides only for a simultaneous move into the buildings. You would have thought that it would be possible to remove the invented obstacle and that diplomats in the two capitals would be able to celebrate the move.

However, the unscrupulous campaign which had been elevated in Washington to a high official level continued, and the brand-new brick building of the U.S. Embassy in the Krasnaya Presnya district and also the official section of the new Soviet Embassy off Wisconsin Avenue in Washington remained empty.

News agencies report that an official U.S. State Department spokesman has announced that President Reagan has decided to propose to Congress the demolition of the almost ready new administrative building of the U.S. Embassy in Moscow and its rebuilding from scratch. The State Department spokesman added that the administration is planning to begin consultations with Congress on this question, although the final decision will evidently have to be made by the next U.S. President and the new Congress.

Well, what can you say here? It is, as the saying goes, for the master to decide. Demolish and build afresh. We can only condole with the U.S. taxpayers—the acute paroxysm of spy mania will cost them $300 million. Sympathize with the two countries' diplomats—for how many more years will they have to squeeze into old buildings which do not correspond to today's needs, before the long-awaited move takes place? And regret the fact that anti-Soviet rhetoric is being heard in the U.S. capital right now, at a crucial time in Soviet-U.S. relations, when joint efforts are shaping the trend toward their improvement and normalization.

Reduction of U.S. Naval Force in Gulf Cited

LD0211082988 Moscow TASS in English 0715 GMT 2 Nov 88

[Text] Washington November 2 TASS—An official spokesman for the Pentagon reports that the Rodney M. Davis frigate of the U.S. Navy was withdrawn from the Persian Gulf Tuesday, which reduces by one naval unit the overall number of U.S. naval ships deployed in the Persian Gulf zone. The spokesman for the Pentagon said that this step had been taken following the discontinuation of hostilities in the Gulf, the lessening of threat to civilian navigation and the transfer of functions of the U.S. naval force from escorting ships to accompanying them during their transit passage through the Persian Gulf.

At the same time, the Pentagon spokesman pointed out that the withdrawal of the Rodney M. Davis frigate did not at all mean the reduction of the U.S. commitments with regard to this region. He pointed out that, on the contrary, the continuation of the U.S. military presence and support for its friends demonstrated its resolve concerning the maintenance of peace and stability in the Persian Gulf. He said that the U.S. naval force deployed in the Gulf zone included today seven battleships, six mine-sweepers and one floating dock. Apart from it, the flagship of the joint tactical group of the U.S. Navy in the Middle East continues to be deployed in the Persian Gulf.

'Evasiveness' on U.S. Shuttle Flight

LD0111095688 Moscow TASS in English 0911 GMT 1 Nov 88

[Text] New York November 1 TASS—The U.S. shuttle Atlantis will be lifted off on one of the last days of November between 6:32 and 9:32 a.m. The National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) reports

that the exact time will be announced only nine minutes before the spacecraft's blast-off from the cosmodrome on Cape Canaveral, Florida State.

Such evasiveness in the NASA official statement is not accidental. On the Pentagon's insistence, the coming flight of Atlantis is shrouded with extreme secrecy, since it will be carried out completely for military purposes. The U.S. press reports that the main object of them is to put into orbit a "top secret military satellite." However, no information will be given about this. It is planned to make an announcement on the shuttle's landing at the Edwards U.S.A.F. Base in California 24 hours before its touchdown.

China

Qian Qichen Cited on December USSR Visit

PM0111160788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
1 Nov 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Forthcoming Visit"]

[Text] Beijing, 31 Oct—Relations between China and the Soviet Union must be relations of the new type, and this corresponds to the current tendency toward detente in the world, PRC Foreign Minister Qian Qichen stated during a meeting with a group of representatives of the Japanese mass media here today. After announcing that he will be visitng the USSR at the beginning of December the minister pointed out that China, as a neighbor of the USSR, will develop its relations with the Soviet Union on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence.

Replying to a question, Qian Qichen noted that the improvement of Sino-Soviet relations will not influence the PRC's ties with other countries.

Further on Close of Sino-Soviet Border Talks

Shevardnadze Meets Tian Zengpei [PRAVDA 1 Nov]

PM0111161988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
1 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Delegation Received"]

[Text] On 31 October E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, received Tian Zengpei, head of the Chinese Government delegation at the Soviet-Chinese border talks and PRC vice foreign minister.

During their conversation, which was committed [zainteresovannyy] and friendly in nature, a positive assessment was made of the overall progress of the talks. It was stressed that progress in, and the solution of, border issues are helping clear away the accretions of the past, establish good-neighborliness, and strengthen trust between our two countries.

Certain other questions concerned with further developing Soviet-Chinese relations in the context of preparations for the first official visit to the Soviet Union by a PRC foreign minister at the end of this year were examined. It was noted that the upcoming talks in Moscow will make it possible to discuss the whole range of bilateral relations as well as key international problems.

The Chinese delegation head's attention was drawn to the Krasnoyarsk initiatives aimed at improving the international climate and ameliorating the situation in the Asian and Pacific region.

E.A. Shevardnadze spoke about the most important events in the life of Soviet society and about preparation for the implementation of specific steps in the reform of the political system. The Chinese side expressed its wishes for the Soviet people's success in pursuing the course of restructuring.

Date of Next Round Pending

PM0111151588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
1 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Soviet-Chinese Border Talks"]

[Text] The third round of Soviet-Chinese talks on border issues took place in Moscow on 20-31 October. The Soviet Government delegation was led by I.A. Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign minister, and the Chinese Government delegation by Tian Zengpei, PRC deputy foreign minister.

The sides have discussed questions concerning the demarcation line in the eastern sector of the border and reached a common understanding on the majority of sections of this sector of the border. The discussion between the sides will continue on the remaining sections still to be agreed upon.

At this round of talks, the Soviet and Chinese Government delegations began discussing questions concerning the demarcation line in the western sector of the border and agreed to set up a working group for this purpose. They agreed to conduct joint aerial photography of this section of the Soviet-Chinese border.

The talks proceeded in a businesslike, frank, calm atmosphere, with a mutual desire to make progress in the solution of border issues.

The date for the fourth round of the Soviet-Chinese border talks will be agreed following the results of the working group's activity.

Talks Assessed as 'Positive'

LD0111202188 Moscow TASS in English 1820 GMT 1 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 1 TASS—TASS political news analyst Mikhail Yakovlev writes:

The third round of the Soviet-Chinese talks on border issues ended in Moscow. Both sides assessed in a positive way the overall course of the talks, emphasizing that the settlement of border issues between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China helps remove the encrustations of the past, establish good-neighbourliness and strengthen confidence between them.

The current dialogue between the two countries at the level of deputy foreign ministers is in the mainstream of developing process of normalization of relations between the USSR and the PRC. Benevolence and confidence in bilateral ties are growing. The normalization of relations opens broad opportunities for the exchange of the experience and mutually-advantageous cooperation.

There have been many changes in the world in the recent years. The Chinese-American relations have been normalized, the Soviet-American relations improved, initial steps are taken in nuclear disarmament, economic cooperation between different countries develops. It is only Soviet-Chinese relations that until recently were apart from these processes, which suited neither the interests of the Soviet and Chinese peoples, nor the interests of other peoples.

The further development of Soviet-Chinese relations, naturally, puts the question of the summit on the order of the day. The striving for it was expressed on both sides some time back. The question of such a meeting is now posed on a practical plane. An arrangement on the exchange of visits of foreign ministers of the two countries was reached in September. It is believed in Moscow and Beijing that this will pave the ground for a summit. True, the Chinese side makes a summit meeting and normalization of Soviet- Chinese relations on the whole conditional upon "the removal of obstacles" the cardinal one of which, in the side's opinion, is the Kampuchean problem. Something has already been achieved in this respect. A recent bilateral working meeting in Beijing on a settlement related to Kampuchea expanded mutual understanding in this matter in a definite way.

PRC Foreign Minister Qian Qichen said the other day that China, a neighbour of the USSR, will be developing its relations with the Soviet Union on the basis of five principles of peaceful coexistence.

Some figures and mass media in the West try to sow doubts about the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations. They assert that their normalization will make them oppose the capitalist world. It was stated by the Soviet Union more than once that it does not look for advantages at the expense of others, that the Soviet foreign policy has a clearly equal and open character. This is shown, specifically, by the recent initiatives that were set out by Mikhail Gorbachev in Krasnoyarsk and that met with broad response of the public of Asia-Pacific countries. Full normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations suits vital interests of the peoples of the Soviet Union and China and will, undoubtedly, have a positive effect on the improvement of the international climate, on the envigoration of the situation in the Asia-Pacific region.

CPC Leader Notes Reform Process 'Irreversible'

PM0111150788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Oct 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Following the Course of Reform. Statement by Zhao Ziyang, General Secretary of the CPC Central Committee"]

[Text] Beijing, 29 Oct—We believe that eventually the reforms will be successful and that the superiority of socialism will thereby be demonstrated and embodied in practice, Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, said here yesterday at a meeting with Janos Lukacs, member of the MSZMP Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee.

The implementation of the reforms which are currently in progress in many socialist countries is a difficult job, the leader of the CPC said. All socialist countries are experiencing difficulties in the course of making these transformations. However, they are not coming to a halt because of this—the reforms are continuing. This process is irreversible.

Zhao Ziyang noted that China, like Hungary, has come up against certain difficulties in the implementation of the reforms. However, he stressed, China is fully determined to continue the reforms, simply making the necessary amendments to them.

Moscow Radio on Soviet-Chinese Summit

OW3110114488 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 26 Oct 88

[Text] Listeners and friends, as we have reported before, the Soviet Union holds a principled stand on a Soviet-Chinese summit meeting. Let us remind you that the Soviet Union is willing to hold a Soviet-Chinese summit meeting at any time in any place. At a news conference for both Soviet and foreign reporters a few days ago, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman pointed out that the Soviet leader thinks the sooner the summit is held, the better. In this connection, station observer Alekseyev comments.

The matter is decided by the development of Soviet-Chinese relations in recent years. Our current task is the complete normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations.

This is the Soviet point of view. In his talks, Deng Xiaoping has also indicated that China holds an identical view. Our experience in international affairs shows that summit meetings are a most effective way for attaining this goal. What does the "normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations" mean as advocated by the Soviet Union? Does it mean that complete identical views be held by both sides in all international issues? This was a question repeatedly asked by foreign reporters and participants at an international conference on Asia-Pacific peace and security in Vladivostok. The Soviet Union does not think that normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations means that the Soviet Union and China should hold entirely identical views on all international issues. The interests of our two countries on the international stage are not necessarily identical. Experience shows it is not strange but quite normal for either side to take different positions on various issues. It would not be a good thing for a dispute to take place because of differing views. We must respect the other side and patiently consider the interests of each. This is a factor of the new thinking. For this reason, we have to adopt a practical view of good intentions based on mutual trust. We hope for a complete normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations so that they become factors in promoting peace and international security, particularly in the Asia-Pacific region.

At the Vladivostok international conference, it was pointed out that currently both Moscow and Beijing are playing a positive role in consolidating peace in the Asia-Pacific region. If the two countries cooperate, they are sure to exert still greater and more effective influence in the region's peace process.

In his speech at the Vladivostok conference, Malaysian political scientist (Balachersha) pointed out that generally speaking, the security in Southeast Asia and the Asia-Pacific region depends to a very great extent on the mutual understanding between the Soviet Union and China as well as on their concerted efforts to work for peace.

China's 'Constructive' Activities in UN Viewed

OW0211043488 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress to Asia-Pacific Region 1300 GMT 25 Oct 88

[Text] Seventeen years ago, the 26th session of the UN General Assembly made the decision to restore the PRC's legitimate rights in the United Nations to and expel Taiwan's representatives from some UN agencies.

For many years the Soviet Union and other socialist countries had made proposals to the UN General Assembly to redress the historical injustice, but these efforts were obstructed by the United States which wielded veto power. Eventually, however, Washington had to heed the world community's view on this matter, and this historical injustice was redressed in 1971.

People remember that China was a founder of the United Nations. Since its founding, the United Nations has designated five languages, including Mandarin, as the official languages of its organizations. The Chinese version of the UN Charter is also available. However, it was not until about 30 years later, after the PRC's legitimate rights in the United Nations had been restored, that Mandarin was used as an official language in the daily activities of UN organizations.

To the Chinese people, the early 1970's was a very difficult period. Domestic turmoil lasted for 10 years, and foreign policy was also in a state of confusion. During that period, the Chinese delegation did not adopt a constructive stand at the United Nations. It assailed the proposals on the non - use of force in international relations and permanent ban of nuclear weapons. It vetoed the resolution on banning the use of chemical weapons in warfare and refused to discuss questions related to consolidating international security. But eventually the Chinese people discarded the extremist approach that characterized the tumultuous decade, and it became necessary to reexamine the diplomatic line in order to accomplish the four modernizations. The 12th CPC National Congress in 1982 reviewed the diplomatic line and set out the goal of achieving a peaceful international environment and promoting lasting world peace. This certainly gave a favorable push to the PRC representatives' activities at UN agencies.

In his speech to the 43d UN General Assembly Session in autumn last year, Chinese Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian announced that the PRC stands for all - round banning and thorough destruction of all types of nuclear weapons, space weapons, chemical and biological weapons, and other massive destructive weapons, as well as massive cuts in conventional weapons. The PRC has already taken practical steps on the path toward disarmament.

Not only have China and the Soviet Union, both nuclear powers, promised not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, China has also committed itself to not using or threatening to use nuclear weapons on countries or regions without nuclear capability. China has also said that it will adhere to the principle of non - nuclear proliferation. One important thing is that, in recent years, China has reduced its Army by 1 million men, cut defense spending, and switched some defense industries to the production of products for civilian use.

In promoting the cause of disarmament and peace, China has attached great importance to the role of the United Nations. In his speech to this year's 43d Session of the UN General Assembly, Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen called for further strenthening the role of UN organizations. Recently, China applied for membership in UN Special Committee on Peace - Keeping Operations. This was certainly not an accidental event.

China's constructive contributions to UN activities, coupled with the efforts of other peace-loving countries, will certainly strengthen the role of the United Nations and expedite the solution of global problems facing mankind.

Northeast Asia

Cambodia's Hun Sen Arrives, Met by Gusev

LD0211111388 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1045 GMT 2 Nov 88

["Minister of Foreign Affairs of Cambodia Arrived in Moscow en Route to France—TASS Headline]

[Text] Moscow, 2 Nov (TASS)—Hun Sen, member of the Politburo of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and foreign minister of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, arrived today in Moscow en route for France.

At the airport, the Cambodian leader was met by Vladimir Gusev, member of the CPSU Central Committee, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and other officials.

Japan Opposes Soviet Ship Repairs in Philippines

LD2810211588 Moscow TASS in English 1258 GMT 28 Oct 88

[Text] Tokyo October 28 TASS—The Japanese Government does not permit a Philippine shipbuilding company to receive orders for the repair of Soviet civilian ships, a spokesman for the Japanese Foreign Ministry has stated here. "The Filesco shipyard was built with the participation of Japanese capital, and we shall not let Soviet ships there...."

This ultimatum came from Tokyo after the U.S. Administration demanded several days ago that the Japanese Government bring pressure to bear on the Philippines and hamper the placing of Soviet orders with the Philippine shipyard. Washington is trying to explain its unceremonious interference in the relations between other countries by the notorious "Soviet threat". A spokesman for the U.S. Department of Defense said that the repair of Soviet ships posed a threat to the U.S. naval base in Subic Bay located near the Filesco shipyard. At the same time, Pentagon wants the shipyard to repair its naval vessels.

The stand assumed by Tokyo on the demand of its overseas partner obviously runs counter to the growing desire of Asian and Pacific region to strengthen confidence and expand mutually advantageous economic cooperation in that part of the world.

Korean Army Political Workers' Delegation Visits

PM0111102988 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Oct 88 Second Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Fruitful Talks"]

[Text] A delegation of leading political workers of the Korean People's Army [KPA] headed by Colonel General Yi Pong-won, member of the Workers Party of Korea [WPK] Central Committee and deputy chief of the KPA Main Political Directorate, visited the Soviet Union from 20 through 27 October at the invitation of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate.

The delegation was received by Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of defense. The delegation members were presented with medals "For Strengthening Combat Cooperation."

The KPA political workers had talks at the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee and Frunze Kirghiz Communist Party Gorkom.

They had talks with Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate. Participating in them were Fleet Admiral A.I. Sorokin, first deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; Lieutenant General G.A. Stefanovskiy, deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; Colonel General A.I. Shirinkin, responsible secretary of the party commission at the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; and other political workers.

During the talks at the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate and the Central Asian Military District Political Directorate the Korean comrades were familiarized with experience of party political work in the Soviet Armed Forces, with the package of measures being implemented in connection with realizing the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th all-union conference, and with the restructuring being carried out in the country, the Army, and the Navy.

The Korean guests reported on the progress in fulfilling the Sixth WPK Congress decisions and on the party political work being done in the KPA.

The talks were held in a warm and friendly atmosphere and in a spirit of mutual understanding on all the problems discussed.

The delegation visited the V.I. Lenin Mausoleum and laid a wreath. A wreath was also laid at the Grave of the Unknown Warrior by the Kremlin wall.

The guests from the DPRK familiarized themselves with memorable sites of the Soviet people's revolutionary, combat, and labor glory and with the sights of Moscow,

Frunze, and Alma-Ata. Rallies of Soviet-Korean combat cooperation were held at the V.I. Lenin Military-Political Academy and in a Central Asian Military District military unit.

Development of India's Nuclear Power Station
LD3010103488 Moscow TASS in English 0943 GMT 30 Oct 88

[Text] New Delhi October 30 TASS—The Indian Government gave consent to the installation of another ten-power engineering units at operating nuclear power stations and those under construction.

Four 235,000-kw units will be installed at the nuclear power station in Kaiga, Karnataka State [placenames as received]. Another four units with a capacity of 500,000 kw each will be added to the nuclear power station in Kota, Rajasthan state, and two units with a capacity of 500,000 kw each - at the nuclear power station in Tarapur. Thanks to this, the capacity of the station in Kota will increase six-fold and in Tarapur - 3.5 times.

Dr M.R. Sreenivasan, chairman of the State Commission on Atomic Power Engineering, said that in the next few weeks the government will pass a final decision concerning the Soviet Union's proposal for building two nuclear power- generating units with a capacity of a million kw each in India.

All in all, 14 nuclear power-generating plants will be assembled at India's nuclear power stations in addition to ten already in operation or under construction before the end of this century. These measures should ensure the fulfillment of the government's plans to bring the capacity of India's nuclear power engineering to 10 million kw by the year 2000.

The Indian Government is seriously concerned over the chronic shortage of electric energy in the country, which constrains the development of both industry and agriculture. Special emphasis is now put on the development of power engineering.

Vasant P. Sathi, minister of energy, said the other day that the plans to install additional power-generating capacities for 22 million kw in the seventh five-year plan period would be overfulfilled. It is planned to build additional capacities for 38 million kw in the eighth five-year plan period beginning from fiscal 1989-90. The Soviet Union will make its contribution to this. It agreed on Indians' [as received] request to give assistance to India in building additional power-generating capacities for 4.5 million kw in the eighth five-year plan period.

Near East & South Asia

Qatari Minister Arrives in USSR 2 November
LD0211150288 Moscow TASS in English 1425 GMT 2 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 2 TASS—Qatar's Deputy Foreign Minister Shaykh Hamad ibn Suhaym Al-Thani arrived in the Soviet Union today for an official visit.

This is the first visit by a Qatar Government official to the USSR.

The USSR and Qatar established diplomatic ties on August 1, this year.

The shaykh will be received by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and first Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh.

Afghan Ambassador Holds Moscow News Conference
LD0111233888 Moscow TASS in English 2235 GMT 1 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 2 TASS—Afghanistan intends to turn to the United Nations Security Council with the request that it should urgently consider the question of Pakistan's interference into the Republic's internal affairs, said Ambassador of the Republic of Afghanistan to the USSR Muhammadullah Safi.

Speaking on Tuesday at a news conference at Afghanistan's Embassy in Moscow, he said that Pakistan interference poses a serious threat to Afghanistan's territorial integrity and national sovereignty, is a deliberate violation of the Geneva accords.

The ambassador noted that Pakistan and Iran put obstacles to the return of Afghan refugees home. The government of the Republic of Afghanistan has irrefutable data about facts of the violation of rights of Afghan refugees and urges international organizations to bring influence to bear on the Pakistani Government to compel it to observe the Geneva accords' provisions on refugees.

Afghanistan proposes an international conference under the United Nations auspices on Afghanistan to consolidate and guarantee the principle of the Republic's neutrality and asks United Nations Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar to assume the responsibility for the preparation of the conference.

"We have a positive attitude to the creation of a coalition government on a broad basis in neutral Afghanistan, a government acceptable to all the parties concerned", the ambassador went on. "Such a government should draw all other sides into a dialogue and then into a peace conference, should achieve ceasefire, create a mechanism of control and oppose the forces that would continue resisting".

"Developing and widening economic relations with various countries, we are striving to establish contacts with Western firms and we shall be promoting the setting up of joint ventures in Afghanistan," the ambassador said.

The leadership of the Republic of Afghanistan thanks the government and people of the USSR, the FRG and Japan for sums of money donated to the United Nations fund for the restoration of Afghanistan's economy. The Republic's government urges the USA to follow their

example and instead of supplying missiles to the extremists, to assist the restoration of Afghanistan and to take part in the United Nations fund for Afghanistan, the ambassador said in conclusion.

UN Security Council Resolution on Afghanistan

LD3110221888 Moscow TASS in English 2201 GMT 31 Oct 88

[Text] New York November 1 TASS—In a resolution unanimously adopted on Monday, the U.N. Security Council confirmed its concept to measures envisaged in the letters of the U.N. secretary-general and related to the transfer of military experts to Afghanistan and Pakistan to render assistance in fulfilling the U.N. mission of good offices for the implementation of the Geneva accords.

It was emphasised in the letters of the secretary-general addressed to the Security Council after the signing of the Geneva accords that the settlement includes concrete measures for the insurance of conscientious implementation of all the provisions of the accords in full volume. Both governments that signed the accords pledged themselves to work out within the shortest period of time mutually acceptable solutions to questions that might arise during the implementation of the accords. In answer to their request the United Nations secretary-general provided his good offices for both governments to assist them in the investigation of any possible violations of the documents related to the settlement.

'Powerful Long-range Weapons' in Kabul Reported

LD0111165488 Moscow TASS in English 1547 GMT 1 Nov 88

[Text] Kabul November 1 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Yuriy Tyssovskiy: This morning Kabul residents witnessed an impressive scene. Powerful long-range weapons supplied to the Afghan Army rolled through the streets accompanied by Afghan armoured carrier.

Their appearance was necessitated by the following deplorable statistics. Last October armed detachments of the so-called irreconcilable opposition carried out throughout the country 1,160 actions with the use of armaments. As a result, 230 innocent residents were killed and 574 seriously wounded. This is much more than in all the previous months since the signing of the Geneva accords. The aim of extremists is to destabilize even more the situation in Kabul and other big cities in the Republic, to fan up panic among the population and to undermine the prestige of the state authority. In the past month Kabul was rocketed with ground-to-ground missiles 23 times, it was mostly massed firing. Over 150 rockets hit the city. Extremists carried out eight terrorist actions: explosions of car bombs, special ground mines, etc. As a result, some 60 people were killed and over 100 wounded. A lot of rockets fell on Jalalabad, the administrative centre of Nangarhar Province. Casualties there topped 130. These are mainly civilians. In the past two days 13 people fell victim of rocketing in Kabul, including one child; six women and five children were wounded.

Speaking recently in the country's parliament, President Najibullah said that the Afghan Army received new, more sophisticated weapons. Today Kabul residents saw some of them. Naturally, this is a forced step, a reply to massed deliveries of lethal rockets via Pakistan to extremist gangs to wage a "war of cities." They are some of weapons to protect the Afghan people from actions of extremists. The new arms are operational-tactical weapons. They will be used against those areas wherefrom the "irreconcilable" fire rockets at Afghan cities, as well as against bases and munitions depots of extremists.

Committees for Release of POW's Plan Petition

PM0111160788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 8

[Unnamed IZVESTIYA correspondent report on interview with V.G. Lomonosov, chairman of the Soviet Public Coordinating Committee for the Release of Soviet Servicemen Imprisoned In Afghanistan and deputy chairman of the AUCCTU, under the "Followup Report" rubric: "Through Joint Efforts"; date and place of interview not specified; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] In connection with the report published in IZVESTIYA No 293 on the upcoming trip to the Soviet Union by a delegation of the International Committee for the Release of Soviet Prisoners of War in Afghanistan, our correspondent met with V.G. Lomonosov, chairman of the Soviet Public Coordinating Committee for the Release of Soviet Servicemen Imprisoned in Afghanistan and deputy chairman of the AUCCTU, who said the following:

[Lomonosov] Both committees have recently adopted a number of coordinated decisions, in particular, with regard to handing in to the Pakistani Embassy in Moscow during the visit a joint petition requesting aid in bringing home captured servicemen and the speedier issue of visas to members of the international committee for trips to Pakistan for talks with the leaders of the Afghan opposition on this question. The members of the international committee are hoping that the Pakistani authorities will issue them with visas for a trip to the country.

We have frequently stated our readiness to meet with representatives of the opposition any time and anywhere in order to discuss possible conditions for the release of Soviet soldiers in their jails but, unfortunately, we have hitherto received no answer.

In conclusion I would like to say that the coordinating committee will strive in its work to ensure that everyone who is in jail returns home and that the fate of everyone missing in action in Afghanistan is established.

Afghan Media 'Praise' Soviet Assistance

LD2110181688 Moscow TASS in English 1714 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] Kabul October 21 TASS—Afghan mass media praise the varied Soviet assistance, noting that over the entire history of relations between the two friendly states the USSR has assisted its southern neighbour in the development of economy and science and in raising the living standards of its people.

Over the past 35 years Afghanistan has received close to 7 billion dollars in foreign assistance. The Soviet Union accounted for three fourths of this sum. This money went into setting up the gas producing and processing industries, the construction of pre-cast reinforced concrete components for housing, three-fifths of the energy potential, practically the whole of geological perspecting and many others things. Out of the 319 projects built or under construction on the basis of agreements between the two countries, 140 have already begun to pay off. Last year the Soviet economic assistance to Afghanistan amounted to 680 million dollars and will reach 720 million this year.

The years of the undeclared war have done enormous damage to the national economy of Afghanistan. The Soviet Union continues to seek new forms of economic cooperation with the view to restoring it. This is confirmed, among other things, by the recent Soviet offer to spend 600 million dollars through U.N. programmes of humanitarian and economic assistance to Afghanistan.

Against this backdrop, the Western mass media's attempts to make much over the U.S. assistance to Afghanistan look especially cynical. The Afghan press says that what is at issue is the money appropriated by Washington for the extremists from the so called "Alliance of Seven" which will never be used to meet the essential needs of the Afghan people because it has been used for waging the undeclared war against a sovereign state. This "assistance" is quite large. From 1978 up to now shipments of U.S. weaponry to the extremist formations have amounted to around three billion dollars. So every dollar out of that mind-boggling sum has turned into bullets, missiles and other weapons to murder innocent Afghan people and to destroy houses, industrial projects and irrigation systems.

PLO Officials on Israeli Knesset Election

PM0111164588 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Nov 88 p 9

[Own correspondent Sergey Medvedko account incorporating interview with Yasir 'Abd Rabbuh, member of the PLO Executive Committee, and statement by Khalid al-Hasan, member of the Fatah Central Committee and chairman of the Palestine National Council Foreign Affairs Commission, in Tunis, datelined Tunis-Amman and published under the "Topical Interview" rubric: "PLO: Step Into Tomorrow"—no date of interview given; first paragraph is an introduction]

[Text] **Our correspondent who visited the PLO headquarters in Tunis asked Yasir 'Abd Rabbuh, member of the PLO Executive Committee, to describe the present stage of the Palestinian people's struggle for their independence.**

"The popular uprising in the Arab lands occupied by Israel has united the different organizations and currents within the PLO. Our optimism and faith in victory are stronger than ever before," Yasir 'Abd Rabbuh said. "The new disposition of forces in the Near East, the new elements in PLO theory and practice, and finally the new political thinking which is spreading throughout the world thanks to the Soviet Union, including the new thinking as regards regional conflicts, enable us to take a fresh look at our struggle. Today we can assert that the Palestinian Arab people's dream of regaining their legitimate rights and forming their own state is acquiring specific and realistic outlines. The Israelis also have grounds for optimism—they have all the opportunities to live in conditions of security and peace. The only thing that needs to be done is to admit that the Palestinians must also enjoy the same rights as other peoples, including the Israeli people. Much depends now on the political situation which will develop in Israel as a result of the elections to the Knesset (parliament)."

A week before these elections, foreign and local journalists accredited in Tunis were invited to PLO headquarters. They were told that the PLO had issued an address to Israeli voters.

"We have not resorted to such practices hitherto," Khalid al-Hasan, member of the Fatah Central Committee and chairman of the Palestine National Council Foreign Affairs Commission, announced. "But times are changing. It is impossible to remain silent in the new conditions. We are doing everything to finally break the deadlock in the solution of the Near East conflict, and we deem it necessary to influence Israeli voters along this avenue. About 330,000 citizens of Arab origin have the right to vote in Israel. Should they participate in the election with a united platform, they could elect 15 members of the Knesset. This is why we called on Israeli citizens of Arab origin not to boycott the election, as was often done in the past, but to take part in it so as to influence the composition of parliament. What is needed now is not just to express protest but to take effective actions, in alliance with other democratic and peace-loving forces in Israeli society. Nonparticipation in the elections will only weaken these progressive forces and will enable right-wing extremists to score additional points.

"At the same time," Khalid al-Hasan went on, "we issued a separate address to voters of Jewish origin, pointing out that the conflict's solution is feasible. If our independence is possible, peace is also possible."

I have in my hands a leaflet with the PLO's appeal to voters of Jewish origin. Let me quote just one passage from the document: "The present election campaign is a concurrent test of reason and foolhardiness, as well as of the sincerity of the Israelis' desire for peace. Voters! Do not miss an historical chance to resolve the conflict! Here is the simple formula: Independence for Palestinians, security and peace for all. By voting for the forces advocating such a peace formula you will bring the entire region closer to new peace horizons, these are unusual elections [sentence as published]. Every Israeli citizen will cast his vote for one of the two alternatives for the future—peace or war."

While in Amman I learned that democratic and peace-loving parties and broad strata of Israel's population have backed the PLO address, describing it as an appeal for peace, as a step toward the "deconflictization" of the Near East. Indeed, the Palestinians have traversed their part of the way of new political thinking. Now it is up to the other side.

'Brutalities' on Election Eve

LD3110214488 Moscow TASS in English 1656 GMT 31 Oct 88

[Text] Cairo October 31 TASS—The Israeli occupiers in the West Bank of Jordan and the Gaza Strip mark in their own special way the parliamentary elections in Israel to be held on November 1. Two Arabs were killed and some 40 others wounded as a result of Israelis' "preventive" punitive actions against Palestinian Arabs in various populated localities of the occupied lands on Sunday. The cities of Betlehem Hagelilit, Nabulus and areas around them, Beyt Sahur, khan Yunis, Bureij and Rujayb villages were the scene of Israeli brutalities in the past 24 hours.

Plastic bullets and tear gas were widely used during the round-ups and the searches there. More than 200 local residents were thrown behind bars. The joint leadership of the Palestinian uprising made a call for a general strike of protest on the eve of the elections in Israel. The Israeli occupiers then proclaimed the West Bank of Jordan and the Gaza strip a closed zone. Large contingents of Israeli forces were sent there additionally. A part of them uses Arab schools as barracks. The curfew is operating virtually everywhere.

A bus with Israeli settlers was attacked near the city of Ariha. Four persons were killed, five others were wounded. The military patrol sealed off the site of the incident. Seven persons were arrested.

Reports coming here say that mass student demonstrations swept Jerusalem today. Arab youth resumed anti-Israeli protests in Khan Yunis and in nearby Palestinian refugee camps.

The ten months of the struggle in Israel-occupied Arab lands increasingly convince the world public of the fact that the Palestinians have the same rights as other peoples, including the right to independence and sovereignty over their land, Yasir 'Abd Rabbuh, member of the PLO executive, chief of the Information Department of the PLO, told the TASS correspondent.

The continued uprising shows unity of the Palestinian people, its striving for freedom and independence. It indicates that it is only on an equitable basis, with taking into account the rights of the Palestinian Arab people that the Middle East problem can be peacefully solved. Deeply mistaken are Israeli hawks who try to reverse history by use of force, he said.

Yazov Talks With Syrian Defense Minister Talas

PM0211092988 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 1 Nov 88 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report under the general heading: "Meeting at USSR Defense Ministry"]

[Text] On 31 October Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of defense, had a meeting with Corps General M. Talas, member of the Ba'th Party leadership, deputy prime minister, deputy supreme commander in chief of the armed forces, and defense minister of the Syrian Arab Republic, who is in our country on an official visit.

Questions of mutual interest were discussed during warm and friendly talks.

Participating in the talks were:

on the Soviet side—Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister; Army General I.M. Tretyak, Marshal of Aviation A.N. Yefimov, and Army General M.I. Sorokin, USSR deputy defense ministers; Colonel General A.V. Betekhtin, first deputy commander in chief of Ground Forces; and other officials;

on the Syrian side—'I. al-Na'ib, Syrian ambassador to the USSR, and Division General A.K. al-Muhammad, military attache at the Syrian Embassy in the USSR.

Army General D.T. Yazov gave a dinner in honor of Corps General M. Talas.

Syrian Defense Minister Corps General M. Talas laid a wreath at the V.I. Lenin Mausoleum. A wreath was also laid at the Grave of the Unknown Warrior by the Kremlin wall. Army General K.A. Kochetov, commander of Moscow Military District, attended the wreath-laying ceremony.

Lukyanov Accepts Egyptian Envoy's Credentials

LD0111133788 Moscow TASS in English 1022 GMT 1 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 1 TASS—Ahmad Mahir al-Sayyid, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Arab Republic of Egypt, presented credentials in the Kremlin Monday to Anatoliy Lukyanov, alternate member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and first deputy president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The Egyptian ambassador pointed out in his speech a perceptible development of Soviet-Egyptian relations in various spheres in the spirit of constructive cooperation based on the traditional friendship and mutual respect of the two nations. On behalf of the leadership and people of Egypt he expressed gratitude to the Soviet Union for siding with Egypt at the time of trial, for helping it repulse the continuous aggression and overcome economic backwardness. The ambassador expressed high appreciation of an active contribution made by the Soviet leadership to the consolidation of world peace and security.

Accepting the credentials on behalf of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and its president, Lukyanov pointed out that Soviet-Egyptian relations had acquired of late a stable trend towards improvement and the return to a traditionally high level. He pointed out the sincere desire of Soviet people to maintain friendly relations with the people of Egypt who had inherited one of the most ancient civilizations. There are many spheres for joint actions of the USSR and Egypt in the international arena, which creates favourable conditions for the expansion of mutual understanding and cooperation of the two countries.

The attention of the ambassador was drawn to the large-scale perestroyka processes now under way in this country which is to bring Soviet society to a new level of historic development. In the sphere of foreign policy perestroyka put forward a concept of new thinking which is to radically restructure the whole system of international relations. Positive signs have appeared in the settlement of regional conflicts within the framework of international efforts. It is important to spread this experience to the Middle East.

After the presentation of credentials Lukyanov and Ahmad Mahir al-Sayyid had a friendly conversation. They discussed some questions connected with Soviet-Egyptian relations and a number of international problems of mutual interest. The conversation was attended by Tengiz Menteshashvili, secretary of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and Anatoliy Adamishin, deputy foreign minister of the USSR.

Soviet, PDRY Leaders Exchange Anniversary Cables

PM0111162188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Oct 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Exchange of Telegrams"]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Council of Ministers have sent a telegram to the leaders of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen [PDRY] conveying their cordial congratulations to the friendly people of South Yemen on the 25th anniversary of the 1963 revolution and the 10th anniversary of the formation of the Yemen Socialist Party [YSP].

The telegram notes that the Soviet Union is pleased with the coincidence of our countries' approaches to key problems of contemporary international life, approaches imbued with a desire to seek to solve regional conflicts and eliminate hotbeds of tension by working toward the creation of a nuclear-free and nonviolent world.

We express confidence, the telegram says, that the relations of friendship and cooperation between the USSR and the PDRY and between the CPSU and the YSP based on the 1979 USSR-PDRY Treaty will continue to fruitfully develop and strengthen to the benefit of both countries' peoples and in the interests of ensuring all-embracing security and peace in the Near East.

In their reply telegram the PDRY and YSP leaders expressed their sincere gratitude for the congratulations, conveyed their wishes for the friendly Soviet people's progress and prosperity, and reaffirmed their desire to develop and deepen relations at party and state level. The telegram stresses the great significance of the selfless international aid which the Soviet Union is giving to the PDRY in carrying out the tasks of the national-democratic stage of the revolution.

East Europe

Further on CSSR Premier Adamec's Visit

Gorbachev Receives Adamec

PM0211110788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Nov 88 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Friendly Conversation"]

[Text] On 1 November M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, received L. Adamec, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and premier of the CSSR Government, who is paying a working visit to Moscow.

M.S. Gorbachev warmly congratulated L. Adamec on on his appointment to the high state post and wished the new head of the CSSR Government success in the solution of the urgent tasks of the country's socioeconomic development.

L. Adamec stressed that the new government's main concern will be to reveal more fully the rich economic, scientific, and technical potential which Czechoslovak society possesses. The current tasks include increasing the return on capital investments, taking urgent environmental protection measures, rationalizing industrial production, and a number of other matters. The party sees the reform of the economic mechanism and the active involvement of the working class and peasantry, the scientific, technical, and creative intelligentsia, and young people in restructuring as the prime means of resolving the problems facing us.

I hope that everything turns out for our Czechoslovak friends as they have planned, M.S. Gorbachev said. I am sure that it will. You have your problems but Czechoslovakia is one of the most developed socialist countries and has great potential.

Processes of unprecedented scale and depth are now developing in the socialist community and this is a matter not of the sudden insight of some individuals but of objective factors. For our own part we can say that the policy of restructuring has really erupted into our lives. The socialist choice, social ownership, the power of the working people, the party's vanguard role, broad democracy—those are the basic values on which all our work is centered.

M.S. Gorbachev gave his impressions of the recent meeting with the capital's Komsomol. It is gratifying, he noted, that youth, the most dynamic and, one may say, irrepressible part of society, has really got down to great and serious work and is putting forward many original thoughts and suggestions. It may be said that restructuring has begun to provide society with new cadres too.

When discussing questions of Soviet-Czechoslovak cooperation, the participants in the conversation were united in the view that the development of economic, scientific, and technical cooperation between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia is an exceptionally promising venture which offers both countries the prospect of great gains. The two sides are ready to embark more boldly on the introduction of unusual [neordinarnyy] and innovative forms of economic collaboration and thereby strengthen the material foundation of the friendship between the Soviet and Czechoslovak peoples.

Ryzhkov, Adamec Hold Talks

PM0211114588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report on the Moscow talks between N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and L. Adamec, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and CSSR premier: "Soviet-Czechoslovak Talks"]

[Text]In accordance with a mutual accord, L. Adamec, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, chairman of the CSSR Government, stayed in the USSR from 31 October-1 November on a brief working visit.

M.S.Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, received L. Adamec, and had talks with him.

Talks were held between N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and L. Adamec. The discussion centered on topical problems of socialist construction in the USSR and the CSSR and the state of and prospects for the development of bilateral cooperation.

N.I. Ryzhkov provided information on the course of the implementation of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th all-union party conference on the profound restructuring of all aspects of the country's life. Special attention was paid to the processes in the revolutionary renewal of society, to questions concerning radical reforms of the economy and political system, and provinding genuine people's power. It was stressed that in the course of restructuring there has been a strengthening of the social orientation in the development of the economy, which is intended to ensure a rise in the living standards of working people.

L. Adamec spoke of the practical implementation of the program of economic reform, the processes of the democratization of public and political life in the CSSR, the outcome of the October (1988) CPCZ Central Committee plenum which affirmed the course of restructuring and outlined ways of mobilizing the efforts of the party and the whole people to implement the set tasks. A description was given of the main problems facing the CSSR primarily in shaping a strategy for improving the production structure, accelerating scientific-technical progress, and introducing a new economic mechanaism to develop the economy more dynamically, and to use the CSSR's material and spiritual potential more intensively. It was noted that in the CPCZ the ideas put forward by the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference have been received with interest as having theoretical and practical significance in the work of CSSR Communists too.

The talks centered on questions concerning the implementation of the accords reached in the course of the meetings between the general secretaries of the Central Committees of the CPSU and CPCZ, M.S. Gorbachev and M. Jakes. The heads of government expressed satisfaction at the the development of USSR-CSSR economic and scientific- technical cooperation, noted its fruitful, mutually favorable character, and confirmed their readiness to infuse further dynamism into the processes of socialist economic integration. During a discussion on specific questions connected with raising the effectiveness of new progressive forms of interaction, stress was laid on the need to persistently use existing reserves and to search for nonstandard solutions.

The sides agreed on measures to further improve the structure of bilateal trade, to increase the proportion of output of machine-building in the trade exchange between the two countries, and to raise the technical level and quality of bilaterally-supplied machines and equipment.

They agreed that it is necessary to accelerate the development of a concept of economic and scientific- technical cooperation between the USSR and CSSR for 15-20 years, designed to promote both countries' reaching front- ranking borders in the most important fields of production, science, and technology, and, on this basis, to promote a tangible improvement in the population's well-being.

A high assessment was given to the state of USSR-CSSR cooperation in the area of science and culture. Intercourse between the peoples of the USSR and the CSSR are becoming richer and fuller. Contacts are expanding between the scientific and creative intelligentsia, young people, public organizations and friendship societies. However, here too there are considerable unutilized reserves and potential, the activation of which will foster a rise in the effectiveness of ties in the superstructure.

The sides stressed that an important factor in successfully implementing the plans for socio-economic development in the USSR and CSSR is to utilize the advantages of the international socialist division of labor more effectively. In this connection there was a through exchange of views on major questions connected with the implementation of the decisions of the 44th sitting of the CEMA session on restructuring the mechanism of multilateral cooperation and deepening socialist economic integration.

It was stated that the establishment of official relations between CEMA and the EEC is a result of the objective trend toward the internationalization of the economy and the positive changes taking place in the military-political sphere. The hope was expressed that it will promote the development of mutually advantageous cooperation between them, and also between member countries of the major economic associations of Europe in the spirit of the principles of good-neighborliness and honest partnership.

In their discussion of international issues, the heads of governments concurred in their assessment of the situation in Europe and the world. It was stressed that, in international relations, there has recently been a noticeable trend toward a rise in the level of mutual trust and a reduction in confrontation, and a desire to solve complex international issues by political means. The implementation , now under way, of the treaty providing for the destruction of USSR and U.S. intermediate and shorter- range missiles is the most substantial result of the new political thinking, and a weighty contribution to the efforts to reduce the danger of a nuclear conflict.

The USSR side voiced its willingness to continue to actively promote the implementation of the CSSR initiative, known as the "Jakes' plan," to establish a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO states.

The sides devoted a great deal of attention to the state of affairs at the Vienna meeting. They called for its speedy conclusion through the adoption of a balanced final document intended to further develop the all-European process. The USSR and the CSSR regard it as essential to seek to bring about a substantial and equal lowering of the level of armed forces and conventional weapons throughout Europe—from the Atlantic to the Urals. In this context, emphasis was laid on the importance of giving effect to the proposals recently put forward at the meeting of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee. The view was expressed that a meeting between the highest representatives of the European states, the United States, and Canada might give the necessary impetus to the talkss on the problems involved in reducing the armed forces and conventional weapons, and open up a qualitatively new stage in developing the salutary process begun in Helsinki.

The two sides confirmed their attachment to the concept of the "common European home," and noted in this connection that maintaining and strengthening peace and security in Europe, strengthening trust and developing cooperation on the continent presupposes the unconditional respect for the existing territorial and political realities and an observance of the principle of the inviolability of borders.

The USSR and the CSSR expressed their resolve to continue their active cooperation to solve all key problems in international life in the interests of peace and international security.

The talks were held in a cordial, comradely atmosphere.

Taking part in them were on the Soviet side: N.V. Talyzin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Minsters, permanent USSR representative to CEMA, I.P. Aboimov, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, V.P. Lomakin, USSR ambassador in the CSSR. On the CSSR side: J. Rehorek, CSSR ambassador in the USSR, and M. Horsky, head of the Premier's Secretariat of the CSSR, and other official persons.

Ryzhkov Kremlin Luncheon Speech

LD0111175188 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1330 GMT 1 Nov p 8

[Text] Moscow, 1 Nov (TASS)—A luncheon was given in the Kremlin today on behalf of the USSR Government in honor of Ladislav Adamec, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the CSSR Government.

Together with the guest were the officials accompanying him on his trip.

In attendance on the Soviet side were comrades N.I. Ryzhkov: N.V. Talyzin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers: and other officials.

A speech was made at the luncheon by N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Speech by N.I. Ryzhkov

Allow me, comrade Adamec, to cordially welcome you once again on behalf of the Soviet leadership, and to express satisfaction with this new meeting with you. We welcome you as the head of government of a fraternal country with which the Soviet Union is linked by firm ties of friendship, solidarity, and cooperation. The homeland of Czechs and Slovaks which has given mankind outstanding thinkers and reformers, figures in the arts, campaigners for freedom, independence, and the interests of working people, commands great respect and authority here in our country.

Still fresh in my memory are the impressions left by meetings in Czechoslovakia in July of this year. As was noted then, the transformations occurring in our countries, notwithstanding all their specific features, have much in common and are founded on the unity of goals and the fundamental similarity of the interests of our states and peoples. The 4 months that have passed since then have been full of important events in the life of both of our countries. The Central Committees of our fraternal parties have held plenary meetings that determined the directions for the further advancement of Soviet and Czechoslovak society along the path of restructuring and socialist renewal.

There is at present nothing more important and weightier than this in the lives of our peoples. We are overcoming everything that hinders our progress or our socialist system in unfolding and revealing its immense potential. For this reason, the pooling of the experience of socialist construction in both countries, and the creative use of it, acquires immense importance as never before. The coincidence of the courses of the CPSU and the CPCZ toward profound transformations in the economy and in public life, on the basis of all-round development of socialist democracy, opens up new prospects for cooperation between our countries.

During today's talks, we examined in detail Soviet-Czechoslovak relations, economic and scientific-technological cooperation, and active joint efforts in the international arena. The talks confirmed the coincidence of the fundamental approaches of the Soviet Union and of Czechoslovakia to solving the large-scale tasks facing our countries at the new stage of socialist construction. We also devoted attention to the negative processes which manifest themselves in economic cooperation between the CEMA member countries and which act as a brake on integration. Both the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia are acutely aware of the need for structural reorganization in the national economy, for modernization of the production base, and for a substantial increase in the efficacy of economic ties.

Coming to the fore are tasks of improving trading structures, and the further intensification of coproduction within industries and industrial specialization. Evidently, extra measures are required in order to raise the development of direct ties between enterprises and associations to a new level, and to ensure that they arrive at joint development and production of machinery and equipment and consumer goods equal to world standards. The economic reform being carried out in the USSR and the CSSR create the necessary preconditions for this.

We are grateful to Comrade Adamec for his detailed information on the transformations taking place in Czechoslovakia in the political, economic, and other fields and we would like to take this opportunity to wish the CPCZ, its Central Committee, the CSSR Government, and all of the Czechoslovak people great success in implementing the radical economic reform, and in guaranteeing the increased wellbeing of the working people on this basis.

The development of events in the world, as in the entire history of Soviet-Czechoslovak relations, reminds us of the significance which the situation in Europe and the close cooperation in European and international affairs has for both of our countries. At a time when the working people of Czechoslovakia are marking their national festival—the 70th anniversary of the proclamation of an independent Czechoslovak state, it is impossible not to say that a condition for the preservation of enduring peace and security in Europe is the inviolability of

borders, and respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of states. The days of Munich have passed into oblivion, and any attempts to contest the existing realities will meet with a resolute rebuff.

Together with its allies in the Warsaw Pact, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia consistently advocate the strengthening of security, the reduction of military confrontation in Europe and the world, and the elimination of all kinds of weapons of mass destruction. The first important steps along the path of disarmament have already been achieved, and the implementation of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range missiles has begun. The idea proposed by the Warsaw Pact member states of reducing conventional weapons and armed forces in Europe, represents, in our view, a good basis for elaborating mutually acceptable accords in this sphere. We are in favor of further activizing the all-European dialogue, and orienting it even more toward achieving concrete results. In this context the idea of holding a "European Reykjavik," a meeting of the leaders of the Europe countries, and also of the United States and Canada, is most topical.

Europe is our common home. Such an approach is shared by practically all European states, and meets with the approval of broad circles of the public in the eastern and western parts of the continent. Czechoslovakia makes a weighty contribution to the efforts to strengthen security in Europe and the establishment of all-European cooperation. The comprehensive initiative of the CSSR permeated with the spirit of high responsibiity for the fate of the world put forward by Comrade Jakes, on the creation of a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO has our full support. Its implementation would facilitate, in keeping with the logic of new thinking, a relaxation of military confrontation in Europe, and further progress in the cause of building an "all-European home."

Czechoslovakia's steps aimed at developing economic cooperation in Europe and ensuring ecological safety have won broad recognition.

I do not think that there is any international problem, including European ones, of any significance at all on which the USSR and Czechoslovakia have not acted together in the interests of strengthening peace and security, bringing about disarmament, and creating an atmosphere which promotes broad political dialogue and democratization of international life.

May I wish you, Comrade Adamec, and the Republic's new government, fruitful work for the good of socialist Czechoslovakia. We wish wellbeing, prosperity, and peace for the fraternal Czechoslovak people.

Adamec Kremlin Luncheon Speech

LD0111181288 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1415 GMT 1 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow, 1 Nov (TASS)—A luncheon was given in the Kremlin today on behalf of the USSR Government in honor of Ladislav Adamec, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the CSSR Government.

Together with the guest were officials accompanying him on his trip. Present on the Soviet side were Comrades N.I. Ryzhkov; N.V. Talyzin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; and other officials.

N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, made a speech at the luncheon. Then Ladislav Adamec made a speech.

The Speech by Ladislav Adamec

We have arrived in Moscow on a short working visit. This is my first trip abroad in my new post. I am glad to be able to share my plans with you, close allies and comrades.

I am grateful for the invitation to visit your country which has always been close to us through traditions of friendship and cooperation over many years, the heroism of the people in times of peace and war, and the pathbreaking feats of many generations of revolutionaries. Today, Moscow is dear to us and we empathize with its revolutionary boldness in giving a fundamental appraisal of the past, in creating a new image of socialism, and in making as great a contribution as possible to the historic cause of restructuring the world for the progress of human civilization. Implementing the new thinking, you are acting both on our behalf and in our interests. This is borne out by your sincere striving to openly share with us all the joys and cares, and to help us by advice and deed.

In both of our countries, a profound restructuring of the whole of public life is under way. In many respects, this lends our cooperation a new character, a broader sweep, and a more profound meaning. Both you and we are giving serious consideration to the new content and significance of socialist values. We are striving to remove the barriers on the path of social development. We are jointly seeking the road toward a more democratic, a more economically efficient, a more socially just, a more cultured, and a more humane society. In the interest of growth in the appeal of socialism, we are striving to make wider use of its advantages and opportunities to improve the living conditions of the people.

On the threshold of the nineties, Czechoslovakia is faced with serous decisions about its future path. The extensive opportunities for development have exhausted themselves. We have economic and human potential

which, under the conditions of the present political and economic mechanism, is not producing the necessary effect. What is required of us is the elaboration of a strategy of shaping a new structure of the productive and scientific-technical base, concern for the the environment, and the growth of living standards. In the interest of solving these most important issues, we shall, to an increasingly broad and full extent, make use of the valuable ideas and suggestions which come to us from the Soviet Union.

The great and constantly growing attention with which our people follows life in your country, is also underpinned by the broad response to the 19th all-union conference of the CPSU and to all the steps to fulfill its decisions. We want to make creative use of all the inspiring ideas of the conference in our conditions. We perceive them as a call to make our contribution to the theory and practice of restructuring.

The new stage of the development of socialism makes higher demands on the quality of relations between our countries, too. The transition from the extensive to the intensive, from quantity to quality, from the number of measures to their effectiveness, is coming to the forefront in these relations, as in our countries themselves. It is for all these reasons that we are in favor of creating a single market of the CEMA member countries, and support the decision of the 44th CEMA session which was held this year. We have already taken a number of steps, but this is merely the start of a difficult path. Looking to the future, we are standing firmly on the soil of reality. We consider it particularly important to speed up the establishment of direct ties between our countries' enterprise.

The urgency of resolving a number of problems and the speed and scale of changes in the economy in our mutual relations is causing the need to discuss the possibility of putting our meetings on a more regular basis. I have therefore suggested holding the next working meeting at the beginning of next year. I consider it useful to discuss urgent problems regularly, to hold consultations on the ways to solve them, and to seek joint approaches at working meetings not less than twice a year.

I am firmly conviced that we have at our disposal the resources and opportunities to solve the tasks facing us in deepening our cooperation. This is also assisted by the favorable conditions in international relations, which are experiencing the positive influence of the new thinking and peace-loving initiatives of the Soviet Union.

Our negotiations have again demonstrated that we are unanimous in the policy of the revolutioanry restructuring of society which is being carried out by our fraternal Communist parties, and that we have a common goal—that of further development of cooperation betwen our countries, and joint efforts to strengthen peace throughout the world.

In conclusion, L. Adamec advocated that the unity of interaction and full understanding between our governments should bring the peoples of both countries increasingly fruitful results in the sphere of production and culture, improvement in living and working conditions, and in enriching their life as a whole; and that such unity and understanding should become the firm basis for ties between our governments and labor collectives which are useful in an all-round way.

Adamec Meets Press

LD0211041088 Prague CTK in English 2020 GMT 1 Nov 88

["Czechoslovak Premier Gives News Conference Before Leaving Moscow—CTK headline]

[Text] Moscow Nov 1 (CTK Correspondent)—"During the meeting with Soviet Premier Nikolay Ryzhkov, I briefed the Soviet representative on the state of our economy. The situation is rather difficult, especially because we do not succeed in fulfilling this year's plan", Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec told Czechoslovak journalists here Tuesday at the end of his visit to the Soviet Union.

He said he informed his Soviet counterpart of the process of restructuring in Czechoslovakia and added that many Soviet experiences can be applied in Czechoslovakia with regard to specific features of each nation and mentality of the people. "We agreed I shall inform Nikolay Ryzhkov in December of problems we wish to jointly discuss and settle. In January we shall meet at a working meeting to discuss them and try to find a joint solution to them."

The Czechoslovak premier pointed also to this meeting with Soviet Communist Party leader Mikhail Gorbachev. Mikhail Gorbachev listened very carefully to the information about the situation in Czechoslovakia. I briefed him in detail on the complicated problems of our economy and on justified critical recommendations of our people", he said.

There is a number of economic problems, Ladislav Adamec pointed out, adding that the structure of especially engineering, metallurgical and electrical engineering production is not set up clearly. The consumer goods industry is a problem by itself. Also the sphere of ecology cannot be neglected. Enormous amounts of steel are being processed, big amounts of coal are being mined—all this negatively influences the environment, he said.

Ryzhkov Sees Off Adamec

LD0111172988 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 1 Nov 88

[Excerpt] This evening Ladislav Adamec, member of the CPCZ Central Committe Presidium chairman of the CSSR Government, who has been in our country on a short working visit, left Moscow for Prague.

At the airport the guest was seen off by Comrade Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, USSR Council of Ministers chairman, and other officials. At the airport of the CSSR and Soviet Union state flags were raised. [passage omitted]

Decision To Close Gdansk Shipyard Cited

PM0211125188 Moscow TRUD in Russian 2 Nov 88 p 1

[TASS report under rubric "Latest Telegrams From Abroad": "Decision to Close Shipyard"]

[Text] Warsaw, 1 Nov—Following a proposal from the industrial minister, the chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers has taken the decision to close down the V.I. Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk.

The enterprise will officially terminate its existence on 1 December this year. The gradual process of its liquidation will commence on that date.

The reason for the decision, according to a report issued by the Polish Government press office and distributed here, is the need to improve the use of the shipyard's production funds and enhance the structure of the entire ship-building industry. In recent years the enterprise has been operating at a loss and has been heavily subsidized by the state. This step is designed to ensure the whole sector has better opportunities to develop by reorganizing its structure in favor of enhancing productivity and profits and making increased savings. Subsidies for the ship-building industry will either be cut or abolished altogether. Prior to the adoption of the decision to liquidate the enterprise, a program was first drawn up that will safeguard the interests of the labor collective; it guarantees all its members the opportunity to make full use of their skills and knowledge and also to receive equivalent or higher earnings.

Urban on Closure

LD0211123688 Moscow TASS in English 1139 GMT 2 Nov 88

[Text] Warsaw November 2 TASS—Jerzy Urban, press spokesman for the Polish Government, has given an interview to Polish television in connection with the decision on the liquidation of the Gdansk shipyard.

He said that immediately after the decision had been taken commentaries had appeared in the Western press saying that Polish society had been shocked by the decision. No one hoped that the decision would be accepted without emotions, although it was not taken all of a sudden, as it is asserted in the West. It had long been discussed at the shipyard and workers had been given a plan of its liquidation.

Concerning statements of some Western mass media organs which describe the decision as a declaration of war against the opposition, the press spokesman said that there was one thing on which agreement with the opposition had been reached, specifically, the need for radical reforms in Poland. The opposition had always maintained, and with some reason, that we had too many programs and were doing too little, Urban said. However, when it came to resolute actions they were not accepted. A policy of national accord is, in the first place, an agreement on the implementation of radical reforms in economy. The closing down of the shipyard is one of such measures.

Commenting on the threats of the opposition to start a protest strike on this occasion, Urban said that the authorities were taking into account this possibility, because such radical measures strongly affected the interests of big professional groups. However, he pointed out, one should also take into account that a lot of changes had taken place in Poland of late, including the attitude to strikes. It is necessary to get accustomed to the fact that strikes, both legal and illegal ones, could become an element of political practices. This is a consequence of profound economic transformations in the country which cannot be carried on without difficulties and conflicts.

Talyzin Attends CSSR National Day Functions

PM0111110188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 6

[TASS report under the general heading "Portentous Jubilee"]

[Text] The creation of an independent Czechoslovak state was of enormous importance for the development of the national liberation struggle of the country's working people. This historic event is indissolubly linked with the Great October victory. This was stated in Moscow at a 27 October meeting devoted to the 70th anniversary of the proclamation of Czechoslovak independence.

Taking part in the meeting were N.V. Talyzin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; P.L. Khabibullayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; leaders of a number of ministries and departments, and representatives of party, soviet and social organizations.

The same day J. Rehorek, CSSR ambassador to the USSR, held a reception to mark the national holiday.

It was attended by N.V. Talyzin, P.K. Khabibullayev, and other officials.

West Europe

FRG's Genscher Assesses Kohl Moscow Visit

PM0111104788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Oct 88 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report under rubric "Abroad": "Positive Appraisal"]

[Text] Bonn, 29 Oct—FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl's visit to the Soviet Union was an important landmark in the development of relations between the two countries.

It has given the "green light" to the further development of bilateral cooperation. This was said by FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, speaking in Bremen at a meeting of the local branch of the "FRG-USSR" Society. Both this visit and the return visit to the FRG next year by M.S. Gorbachev, he continued, will contribute to further progress in the task of improving relations between East and West.

The agreements and contracts concluded in the course of the chancellor's visit to Moscow are to the advantage of both sides and will contribute to the modernization of the Soviet economy, H.-D. Genscher pointed out. It is important to ensure that the development of bilateral economic and scientific and technical relations is free of those restrictions which were to some extent justified during the "cold war" period but not now. For this reason we are in favor of a realistic definition of COCOM regulations.

Touching on the subject of the restructuring policy in the USSR, H.-D. Genscher said that the seriousness of the Soviet leadership's intentions to consistently follow this course is not in question.

The further development of East-West relations, the minister emphasized, requires a modernization of thinking not only in the East but also in some people in the West. In this connection H.-D. Genscher spoke against the idea of "compensating" missiles eliminated in accordance with the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles with other weapons.

Economic Cooperation With FRG Viewed

LD2410161088 Moscow TASS in English 1604 GMT 24 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 24 TASS - TASS Correspondent Georgiy Meyzerov writes:

About 50 agreements between Soviet ministries and departments and firms of the Federal Republic of Germany on the long-term scientific and technical cooperation constitute the basis of bilateral contacts in this field, a TASS correspondent has been told in the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology.

These envisage cooperation in tackling specific scientific and technical problems and create prerequisites for the implementation of large-scale projects and industrial co-production arrangements. Cooperation with the firm Krupp in the field of "direct reduction of iron" resulted in the implementation of the project to build the Oskol metallurgical complex (central Russia). Research conducted jointly with the firm Salzgitter ended at one time with the signing of a contract for the delivery of equipment to the Soviet Union for the production of high-pressure polyethylene.

At the same time the Federal Republic's current statute of control over the export of goods complicates business contacts. In these conditions a number of West German partners find ways to replace technologies and equipment which are covered by restrictions by Soviet ones which are developed on a coordination basis under co-production arrangements. The Krupp and Siemens, in particular, have such cooperation experiencee.

Wide prospects are being opened up by a new direction in the development of scientific and technical cooperation with the Federal Republic—through the channels of federal lander. In this respect Soviet organizations have established and develop contacts in the field of machine-building, instrument-making, the automation of production processes, computing engineering, and electronics.

The pooling of intellectual and material resources of the two countries provided an opportunity to solve major scientific and technical problems. Priority programmes for joint scientific research have been determined: In the utilisation of nuclear power for peaceful purposes, in health care and medicine, and in agriculture.

At the first session of the USSR-FRG Mixed Commission for Scientific and Technical Cooperation in April this year it was suggested that the preparation of another two specialised agreements on cooperation in the field of space research, computing engineering and informatics be started.

Soviet scientists' opinion is that the programmes as well as more that 500 specific problem areas suggested by the Soviet side to partners in the FRG for joint development efforts constitute a future of scientific and technical cooperation between the two countries.

Zagladin Receives Belgian Senate Delegation

LD3110192388 Moscow TASS in English 1705 GMT 31 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 31 TASS—Secretary of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Soviet of the Union of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR Vadim Zagladin had a meeting today with a delegation of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Senate of Belgium's Parliament, with the Commission Chairman J. Hanquet at the head.

In the course of the meeting the sides noted that transformations in the USSR opened up vast possibilities for raising the relations between the two states to a qualitatively new level. It was noted that expansion and invigoration of inter-parliamentary contacts was making a weighty contribution to building up confidence and security in Europe and the whole world. A broad dialogue between representatives of different political parties and trends of the continent would also play a positive role in this process.

Kamentsev Receives British Parliamentarians
LD0211002288 Moscow TASS in English 2014 GMT 1 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 1 TASS—There was a conversation today between Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, chairman of the State Foreign Economic Commission of the USSR Council of Ministers Vladimir Kamentsev and a delegation of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Commons of British Parliament led by the committee's chairman David Howell.

The fundamental directions of restructuring of the USSR's foreign economic activity were explained in detail to British MPs. Real possibilities for the further development of mutually-advantageous commercial and economic relations between the two countries were shown.

Pointing out that there exist untapped possibilities both sides declared for the need for a speedy implementation of new forms of economic cooperation, such as joint ventures, industrial cooperation and others.

Cooperation Talks End, Protocol Signed in London
LD2010215788 Moscow TASS in English 1946 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] London October 20 TASS—A final plenary meeting of the 15th session of the Permanent Intergovernmental Soviet-British Commission on Scientific, Technical, Trade and Economic Cooperation was held here today in Lancaster House, the residence of the British Government. A protocol was signed on the results of the session, as well as new contracts between British firms and Soviet organizations.

One of the contracts was signed by International Automotive Design and the Soviet foreign trade association Avtopromimport on the designing of new types of light trucks. The second contract dealing with the creation of a Soviet-British joint enterprise on the carrying out of copying operations was signed by Rank Xerox and Vneshtorgizdat.

Alan Clark, British minister of state, Department of Trade and Industry, and British co-chairman of the commission, pointed out that good progress had undoubtedly been achieved at the talks in the development of bilateral relations. He said that since Mikhail Gorbachev had first announced perestroyka and glasnost, interest in the political, economic and social reforms which are under way in the Soviet Union was enormous. The session showed that British companies displayed a lively interest in taking part in the realization of a number of major Soviet projects. Alan Clark said that he welcomed all the steps that promoted the growth of bilateral trade.

Konstantin Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic relations and Soviet co-chairman of the commission, expressed satisfaction over the results of the work of the session which, as he empahsized, were in line with the interests of both countries. "Our session and its results reflect the dynamics of the development of bilateral relations and the atmosphere which is felt more and more strongly in those relations thanks to a dialogue between Mikhail Gorbachev and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher", he said.

During the session Konstantin Katushev was received by Margaret Thatacher and had a conversation with her. Ways of boosting bilateral cooperation were discussed at meetings with Lord Young, secretary of state for trade and industry, and other senior executives of the British Government. The Soviet delegation held talks with heads of the confederation of British industry and visited a number of big British companies and firms.

Alan Clark pointed out in a TASS interview that, in his opinion, political and diplomatic relations existing today between the two countries were extremely good. However, it should be pointed out that trade and economic relations are also developing. Some 180 British firms will take part in a month-long campaign of British-Soviet trade due to be held in Moscow next April. According to the estimates of the British-Soviet Chamber of Commerce, over 500 contracts will be signed in the course of 1988 alone. Several joint enterprises have been created already. Another 40 agreements on closing such deals are in the process of being worked out.

Yakovlev, Spanish Ambassador Discuss Ties
LD2410183388 Moscow TASS in English 1739 GMT 24 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 24 TASS—Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, today received Spain's ambassador to the USSR, Jose Cuenca, at his request.

In the warm conversation they discussed issues of mutual interest concerning the present state and prospects of Soviet-Spanish relations.

Norwegian Minister on Cooperation
LD2610103088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0500 GMT 26 Oct 88

[Text] The 15th session of the intergovernmental Soviet-Norwegian commission on economic, industrial and scientific cooperation is continuing its work in Oslo. Our correspondent, Valentin Gubernatorov, has sent in the following report.

[Gubernatorov] Many people here are already noting that the present session will undoubtedly make an important contribution toward strengthening and developing the bilateral trading and other ties between the

Soviet Union and Norway. To judge from remarks made by those participating in the talks, they are taking place in a businesslike and constructive spirit. A spirit of mutual understanding and good will prevails at the meeting. The Soviet delegation at the meeting is led by Vorontsov, first deputy minister of Foreign Economic Relations. The Norwegian delegation is headed by Commerce Minister Jon Balstad. Here is what he had to say, in part, in an interview with Soviet radio.

[Begin Balstad recording in Norwegian fading into Russian translation] There are quite a few encouraging facts for the further development of commercial ties between our countries. For instance, we already have operating quite a good exchange of tourists between Finnmark and Murmansk, and we hope that these links between the northern areas of the two countries will expand. It seems to me that they accord with the aspirations of both peoples. Our cooperation in fishing has become traditional. Yet here too there are quite a few potential possibilities that we intend to discuss with a view to implementing them later on. Exceptionally broad prospects for cooperation are also opening up in the field of environmental protection. We could also agree on joint measures to protect the North Sea, and I am sure that, if our cooperation in that area is successful, then we will be able to solve more quickly and more easily the problems associated with the protection of our environment. [end recording]

USSR-Norway Cooperation Panel Meets
PM2610160588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] The seventh session of the Permanent Working Group on Economic and Industrial Cooperation between the USSR and Norway has been held.

Particular attention was given to the joint development of resources in the Kola Peninsula and on the Barents Sea shelf and to the expansion of border trade.

Claim Upheld in Case of Plane Hijacked to Sweden
PM2510094188 Moscow TRUD in Russian 22 Oct 88 p 4

[TASS correspondent report: "Action Against Hijacker"]

[Text] Riga, 21 Oct—The Latvian SSR Supreme Court Civil Cases Collegium has deemed substantiated the action for material damages brought by the Latvian Civil Aviation Administration against R. Svistunov, who hijacked an An-2 aircraft on the night of 27 May 1987 from the republic's territory and took it to Sweden. The damages amounted to more than R350,000.

The decision of the Latvian Supreme Court Civil Case Judicial Collegium has been conveyed to Sweden, where it will be examined by a regional court.

Political & Social

Viktor Karpov Named Deputy Foreign Minister

LD0211125988 Moscow TASS in English 1253 GMT 2 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 2 TASS—Viktor Karpov, head of the arms control and disarmament directorate at the Soviet Foreign Ministry, has been appointed deputy foreign minister of the USSR, a ministry spokesman announced at a briefing here today.

Further on Gorbachev Meetings With Komsomol

Gorbachev Tours Exhibition

PM0111144388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Nov 88 Second Edition pp 1, 2

[TASS report under general heading "Restructuring and Youth: Time for Action. Meeting Between M.S. Gorbachev (general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium) and Young People from Moscow and the Moscow Region" in Moscow's Palace of Youth on 29 October 1988]

[Text] The capital's Palace of Youth, where Komsomol members gathered on the day of the Komsomol's 70th anniversary, looked more like a city of craftsmen than a palace. Its display "streets" show specific deeds born out of young people's initiative. People are exchanging experience, arguing, jointly seeking solutions.

Today they were joined in this quest, in this exchange of ideas, by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. He walked from display unit to display unit, bringing workers and students, school pupils and servicemen into a discussion. He went into a thorough analysis of the details of organizing an economically accountable association with some, he argued with others, he listened with keen interest to what yet others had to say, he recalled his own years as a student, and he applauded a song written by school pupils.

The hundreds of exhibits on show at the "Moscow's Komsomol—On the Eve of the Komsomol's 70th Anniversary" Exhibition constitutes not a traditional jubilee report but a living narrative of young people's initiative in action, a concentration of their energy, a list of their problems and questions, of their quests and solutions.

At the display stand of the Headquarters of Komsomol Shock Labor Construction Sites, Mikhail Sergeyevich was briefed on the basic avenues of Komsomol sponsorship.

V. Osipov, chief of the Headquarters of Komsomol Shock Labor Construction Sites: In the past we used to sponsor whatever specific projects came along, like the Likhachev Motor Vehicle Plant or the Lenin Komsomol Motor Vehicle Plant, for example. But now we select a complete avenue for young people's actions. Ecology is one of them. Here we can show you movies about our current labor action, about how two young people's parks were set up with more than 2,000 young people working there. We announce these actions in the newspapers. Anyone who wants to can come along. Now there are very many people perturbed by ecology problems and ready to make a specific contribution to environmental protection. Another avenue is the preservation of historical and cultural monuments. Actually, we have representatives of this movement here.

M.S. Gorbachev: I saw how you started. You started by linking hands and stopping a bulldozer from entering Kirovskiy Prospekt.

P. Sokolov, chairman of the "Podlinnik" Young People's Association: The task now is to find an alternative to state ownership of monuments. We do have such experience in principle. Now we want, by way of an experiment, to try it out in Solovki. This is a serious social project.

M.S. Gorbachev: And what do you intend to do in Solovki?

Voice: We have organized expeditions there for two summers running.

M.S. Gorbachev. Restoration work?

P. Sokolov: Yes, and we are setting up a consultative council for this purpose....

Voice: Our second expedition was to the town of Aleksandrov. It had a suburb where Ivan the Terrible lived for 17 years. There are monasteries which are literally falling apart. This can be clearly seen from the photographs on display.

Voice: We believe that every monument should have a specific owner. Various monuments could be handed over to keen amateurs, like us for example.

M.S. Gorbachev: What do you mean, handed over to you?

Voice: Maybe on a lease contract....

R.M. Gorbacheva. They want to do things themselves.

Voice: What we suggest is to recreate an historically contemporary environment around a given monument. There are specialists, young people, who would go there and do everything, from restoration work to the revival of ancient crafts. Monuments must remain alive, right? Our labor initiative association actually offers people an opportunity to find a state organization dealing with the implementation of such ideas.

Voice: Helping in the implementation of initiatives.

M.S. Gorbachev: I think that Moscow's kids, its Komsomol members, have taken on an important job—the preservation of monuments in and around Moscow. In the past they were just pulled down. Now it is necessary to restore whatever is left. I think that all options are suitable. [Gorbachev ends]

At the Komsomol members' request, Mikhail Sergeyevich wrote in the exhibition visitors' book: "I ardently acclaim Your initiative."

"I'm putting down 'Your' with a capital Y," Mikhail Sergeyevich added.

"You know, this work displays the living links between generations. Some people want to break with the past, saying that it is all behind us now, gone, of no significance. Untrue. If the link between generations is broken, society collapses. Every layer of culture, every layer of civilization, and every new generation must stand on firm ground. A scornful attitude to the past always results in huge moral losses. This is how it is today, this is how it will be tomorrow. Someone whose soul is concerned about people cannot fail to be a participant in history, he must be involved with it, he must relive it. The things you are doing are valuable not only from the material viewpoint. The main point is the spiritual aspect, the main point are the people. Well done, you kids; carry on, carry on, get the bulldozers out of the way."

Attention at the "Young People's Labor Initiative for Restructuring" Exhibition was attracted by a sign: Administration for the Komsomol Organization's Work in Setting Up an Experimental Young People's Horticultural Complex.

M.S. Gorbachev: This is interesting: What is it?

V. Novoselov, chairman of the Experimental Young People's Horticultural Complex, explained that this society solves two basic tasks. First, organizing young people's free time. Second, ensuring supplies of fruit and vegetables for the plant collective. Plus sponsorship assistance for agro-industrial complex enterprises.

M.S. Gorbachev: Who is giving you land near Moscow?

V. Novoselov: The land is given on a contract basis.

M.S. Gorbachev: But there is hardly any free land in the Moscow region, if at all.

V. Novoselov: But the point is that there is free land. Very many awkward and inconveniently sited lots....

M.S. Gorbachev: I recall the time when I was dealing with agriculture in the Central Committee. What happened was that, in order to satisfy the requests for garden plots by Muscovites and labor collectives, we stretched as far as Smolensk and Kaluga Oblasts, in all directions from Moscow. Because, we were told, there was no free land in the Moscow region.

R.M. Gorbacheva: And yet the kids have found land....

M.S. Gorbachev: This is good, only young people can do this—use land to the utmost.... [Gorbachev ends]

The members of the horticultural complex started by establishing contacts with the region's farms, offering their services, manpower, and other assistance. They found support: They were given land, awkwardly sited fields, and inefficient land parcels on contract. The first land parcel for the young people's horticultural association was allocated in Naro-Fominskiy Rayon.

The first association of the young people's horticultural complex brought together 170 members. A model of it is on show at the exhibition: summer cottages surrounded by gardens, a public leisure center, a sports club. There are plans to build workshops, especially for making ceramic tiles which could be suitable for house decoration work.

"Of course, everything looks fine in the model," M.S. Gorbachev remarked, "Everything is sensibly planned, but who will do the building, where will the materials come from?"

V. Novoselov: We are doing everything ourselves. We have many specialists. As for materials, there are some very interesting ideas suggested by our comrades. We will be using cheap materials.

M.S. Gorbachev: You won't bother asking the Gossnab for them?

Yu. Agapov, economist: We will try to manage using our own efforts.

M.S. Gorbachev: Does this mean that only young families will live in your homes?

V. Novoselov: Not at all. We conducted sociological studies and found out that 80 percent of the association's members have laid out their parcel with due consideration for older members of their families. Actually, there are quite a few war and labor veterans among them.

"At last, we have come to the main point," Mikhail Sergeyevich remarked. "I was beginning to think that your link between generations was only historical. What I meant was work by Komsomol detachments to restore cultural and ancient monuments. No, the link between generations is also important among the living. There can be no healthy society without it."

The conversation about the fathers-sons problem leaves no one indifferent. There are occasions when our elders grumble and lecture: Don't dance this way, the hairstyle is not right, nor is the fashion....

"But when our grandfathers and grandmothers realized," one of the association members said, "that we did have sensible heads beneath the fashionable hairstyles, that we could do everything ourselves, they asked to come and live with us. One grandmother was offered an apartment in the city but she refused outright: I'll build a home, she said, next to my grandson's and I'll live there; I want to be nearer to the young people.

"Actually, even the price of the cottages built by the association's members is perfectly acceptable to pensioners—just R1,200-1,300."

M.S. Gorbachev: Well done, you kids. This is four times cheaper that the state selling price. [Gorbachev ends]

This year the young people's cooperative signed a contract with the sovkhoz and took on a field of 25 hectares, cultivated it, and gathered a harvest of 2,000 quintals of feed beetroot and 1,200 quintals of potatoes. Next year the kids plan to tackle labor-intensive crops like sea buckthorn and currant bushes. There is another quite important detail. The young people plan an experiment: To cultivate only ecologically pure produce, refusing all chemical "doping" with fertilizers and pesticides.

"The only thing I can do is wish you success," Mikhail Sergeyevich told the cooperative's keen members.

The young people invited him to have a cup of tea. The samovar was already boiling, all that had to be done was infuse the herbs gathered in the young people's cooperative garden. But there were more meetings ahead. Mikhail Sergeyevich thanked the kids and made his way to the next section of the exhibition.

A display unit screen was shimmering on one of the stands.

"This is the type of computer we have in the raykom," said I. Gorodzhanov, first secretary of the Komsomol raykom in Moscow's Sovetskiy Rayon.

M.S. Gorbachev: What have you stored in its "memory"?

I. Gorodzhanov: It contains data about the rayon Komsomol organization, records of all resolutions passed by the raykom. This helps to monitor their performance.

M.S. Gorbachev: And how about practical applications? Can the computer also do that? For example, what can it tell us now?

"We use the keyboard to enter the surname of one of our Komsomol members," I. Gorodzhanov explained, "and the computer tells us about his duties and Komsomol assignments."

M.S. Gorbachev: The only thing it can't tell us is how they are being performed.

I. Gorodzhanov: That's correct. But everything depends on people. On the whole, the use of computers which take on routine statistical functions releases time for work with people. This is why the application of computers in Komsomol work must extend to all levels, including the primary Komsomol organization level. [Gorodzhanov ends]

The great opportunities offered by computers in various spheres of activity are especially attractive to young scientists, specialists, and innovators. Young people today are in the vanguard of computerization. For example, there is an exhibition stand representing the "Variant" Computer Club, set up under the Cheremushinskiy Komsomol Raykom and the "Progress" Center for Young People's Scientific and Technical Creativity. Another young people's collective, the "Multkompyuter," deals with the development of games and educational programs. It has produced the first Soviet professional computer games—all the exhibition visitors are interested in them.

M.S. Gorbachev then visited the section whose exhibits describe young people's scientific and technical creativity. Moscow now has 35 centers for young people's scientific and technical creativity, and they have already produced an operational and quite effective model.

The guide in this section was Aleksandr Chesnokov, member of the Moscow Komsomol Gorkom and one of the founding members of "Vnedreniye," the capital's first center which provides the base for shaping a countrywide system of centers for young people's scientific and technical creativity.

M.S. Gorbachev: Who are the people who come together in these centers? Evidently young scientists, workers, engineers?

Voice: They are not the only ones. There are also students and school pupils. Anyone who wants to, the doors are open for everyone....

M.S. Gorbachev: And what is the average age in these collectives?

A. Chesnokov: Up to 35 in most of them.

Mikhail Sergeyevich wanted to know when the centers for young people's scientific and technical creativity came into operation, and what specific achievements have they managed to produce in just over 1 year. The following figures were cited: The total cost of the work

done by the centers is about R50 million. About 20 percent of this work is commissioned by the Moscow City Soviet, in other words, it is geared to the city's economy. They are dealing with, for example, the improvement of elevator facilities and the elaboration of a transport-technology scheme for deliveries of fruit and vegetables to the city's stores, and they have developed an automated control system for a plant....

M.S. Gorbachev wanted to know how the centers' members find out what exactly is needed by production and the city's economy. After all, it is necessary to be well aware of all this in order not to "reinvent the wheel," he said.

He was told that the centers have task forces which constantly visit enterprises, study their problems, and offer their services, and an economic contract is then concluded with the plant or institution.

M.S. Gorbachev: A contract observing all the rules? That is correct, that is how it should be. The legal aspect of the job should not be overlooked. This is how it should be. After all, such involvement with specific work is very important along all avenues, within the framework of national programs, and it might even be possible to enter the international arena. I am sure it can be done. And what problems do the centers face?

A. Chesnokov: We lack a well-organized wholesale trade system. It is difficult to buy materials and components.

L.N. Zaykov: The Moscow Gorkom has already examined this question. It has been positively resolved. [Zaykov ends]

One of the participants in the conversation drew Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's attention to the fact that the restructuring of the Komsomol apparatus, and especially the elimination of sector departments, could, in his opinion, have a negative effect on the development of young people's scientific and technical creativity.

M.S. Gorbachev: Have no fear. That is not the point. We don't need departments—the Komsomol has found its way into the clubs and organizations. There is no need to constrain lively work within the old organizational framework. Let the initiators try everything and let them organize themselves in any way that suits them. That's when things will get interesting, that's when we will have genuine initiative which is possible only on the basis of self-motivation. Let Komsomol members have a broader field for the pursuit of their professional interests. This is a very important avenue.

The point is that our science—both pedagogical and research science—is aging. We need young energy, young blood. I am certain that anyone who tackles the problems of scientific and technical creativity while still young and has a liking for this work will carry on with it in the future. I vote for your initiative with both hands. [Gorbachev ends]

Mikhail Sergeyevich's attention was drawn to a schematic drawing of a "field-store shelf" economically accountable vegetable production line.

"This was the principle applied last summer in the Moscow region by one of the capital's student detachments," said Sergey Katyrin, chief of the city's Headquarters of Students Detachments. "We took over a farm and introduced a vegetable harvesting cycle. Students transported and sold them. And they actually enjoyed active support from the Moscow City Soviet."

M.S. Gorbachev: Did the kids like that?

S. Katyrin: Yes. That was our second attempt. The first attempt was made in Astrakhan the year before last, but we encountered complications with transport. It was too far. Here it worked out. The kids like it because they are fully responsible for all the work, right up to the end results.

M.S. Gorbachev: But how many such collectives are there in Moscow, and in the country? You know, if you could resolve this question once and for all, you would have to be given the Lenin Prize. Because so far no one, neither in Moscow nor in the state as a whole, has been able to resolve the question of vegetable supplies to cities.

Voice: Prices, too, play a role! Our produce is no worse that that brought to the market by the old women from Moscow Oblast. They told our girls: Raise your prices to match ours. You are selling cheap. What kind of commerce it this?

M.S. Gorbachev: Tell this to L.N. Zaykov, with all the details. The Moscow party gorkom and the Moscow City Soviet have submitted a proposal to the government; they are proposing new approaches to supplying such a vast city as Moscow. After all, so far it all hinges on organization. You see, produce goes to waste, at railroad stations trucks are literally weeping water melon juice, all river ports are chockablock with vegetables, a great deal perishes. And do you know exactly how much is lost?

Voice: Unfortunately, I do not know.

M.S. Gorbachev: If this figure were known, I am convinced, it would make you even keener. In Moscow half the vegetables and fruit perish, in the country as a whole it is 40 percent. This is where your initiative, your enthusiasm is needed. How many such detachments will there be next summer?

S. Katyrin: Ten, I think, in order to cover the whole city.

M.S. Gorbachev: And how much produce was sold in the course of the season in money or tonnes? [Gorbachev ends]

Students report that their daily turnover alone totaled R15,000-20,000.

M.S. Gorbachev: Try to find new forms of work. Look everywhere.

Voice: We even have actively working detachments of conductors. They also operate through the city student detachment headquarters. [voice ends]

K. Arutyunova, Moscow Architecture Institute student, A. Blinov, Moscow student construction detachment commissar, and their comrades join the conversation.

Heatedly, interrupting each other, the young men and women tell Mikhail Sergeyevich where and how they worked last summer, where they succeeded, and where they did not quite succeed. There were plenty of acute problems, but the conversation participants did not try to sidestep them. They said: Student construction detachments could operate more effectively and be of greater benefit to their home city and Moscow Oblast.

M.S. Gorbachev: Let's roll up our sleeves for Moscow. I saw in the GDR how the whole republic worked to make the capital more beautiful. And Moscow needs this sort of effort very much now. You will remember that it had been declared a communist city, and a model city in the past. That was a bit rash, of course. What we need to do now is to make it a good socialist city, then we can advance, taking big steps, toward making it a communist city.

Our capital will soon be 850 years old. You cannot deny that that is a respectable age. There are many corners in the city which need to be made more beautiful, restored, or reconstructed, to preserve it for people. Old Moscow must be saved. [Gorbachev ends]

A group of students relates how they learned trades needed in restoration work. Some became real painters, carpenters, or stonemasons.

M.S. Gorbachev: I can see that you are playing an active part in political, economic, and cultural affairs, in everything. That is what is called real life. I wish you success and good luck! [Gorbachev ends]

A tight circle of young men and women surrounds M.S. Gorbachev in the spacious palace foyer, and immediately a friendly conversation is struck up.

"Do you know what pleases me?" he asks them. "I can see for myself that after the 20th Komsomol Congress a quest was launched, but it is gathering its main momentum at this very moment. It is necessary to take a closer look. Something important is happening inside our Komsomol, something quite definite. There may be certain ups and downs, but there is the desire to revive the true spirit of a political organization.

Let it be that. There may also be interest circles and clubs in which Komsomol members take part. But what is needed is a political organization as V.I. Lenin conceived it.

A forest cannot exist without an undergrowth. Without it, it perishes. The party, without a combative political youth organization which shares its aims, will perish too. We, generally speaking, worry about the Komsomol above all because it will take over from us. Look at the history of the Komsomol. What is most important in it? Despite all losses and troubles it has always discharged its historic mission. The years of stagnation and deformation have, of course, also left their mark on young people, on their energy, they paralyzed it especially. So that restructuring is something that concerns you, primarily. It is your destiny, the destiny of the Komsomol.

It is 42 years since I myself joined the Komsomol. A long time ago, you think? How old are you, what is your main concern? [Gorbachev ends]

Sergey Chernykh, a 26-year old from Zelenograd, describes how his comrades wanted to start publishing a local Komsomol newspaper. It is necessary, simply indispensible, to liven up work and eradicate formalism. Everything hinges on paper, of which there is a shortage.

L.N. Zaykov: For this sort of cause we will find the paper. The gorkom has authorized the large-circulation newspapers to periodically prepare special issues with the help of the Komsomol and for the Komsomol.

M.S. Gorbachev: This is right. It is necessary for young people at local level to have their own newspapers.

S. Chernykh: Naturally, where there is a will, even paper can be found. There was a ceiling on our subscription. But now it has been removed. This was a very good step toward making restructuring really irreversible.

M.S. Gorbachev: Are you saying that you suspect that someone wants to reverse it?

S. Chernykh: Not only I....

M.S. Gorbachev. The fact that you are concerned for the fate of restructuring is of utmost importance. Do not put up with anything, if anyone, anywhere, is pulling backward, do not allow this to happen, fight. This is my advice and my request to you. As for the affair with the subscriptions, it was not some kind of relapse into conservatism, or someone's attempt to gag society, no. We have literally pulled out all our reserves of paper. We have reduced the publication of literature where this was possible. We have put curbs on stationery and gotten

hold of some paper this way. We are now planning to increase the production of paper by 500,000 tonnes in the next few years, so as to eliminate this problem once and for all.

Now it is necessary to implement this decision. And we must think about why it has not proved possible to carry out everything that was planned earlier. After all, this work started after the 20th congress. I recollect this very well, I was a delegate to the 22d congress where truly large-scale, far-reaching decisions were adopted. Then, step by step, they were emasculated. Much of what we are doing now dates back to the sixties. Why did the economic reform launched in those years fail? What was the reason? You have told me the answer yourselves: Everyone needs to feel that he himself is directly taking part in most important causes.

The changes in those years were dictated from offices, "from above," and people were not assigned the main role in them.

We have now arrived at the conclusion that it is necessary to act openly, with glasnost, and democratically. Only in this way will it be possible to lead society out of stagnation.

As you can see yourselves, a great many problems have accumulated. We have all been subject to stagnant attitudes in one way or another and it is necessary for everyone to shake off these attitudes. The strength for this has nonetheless been summoned in society, in all its strata. And you young people must take part in this, after all, you support the same policy and therefore you must take part in all the processes of the political life. The Komsomol must have a say on all issues, and that includes the upcoming elections. It must play an active role in this political process.

So you must lose no time, you must use all your drive during the nomination of candidates in the okrugs, display initiative, nominate worthy people, and fight for mandates. There is no need for sham unanimity. Argue, seek the truth, and speak the truth. If something is bad, we must all try to find out why it is so. If, on the other hand, something is good, we must learn what we have to do to consolidate this trend. And if unanimity is arrived at after all the ideas have been aired and discussed, then that is true unanimity.

In general, the rally-holding stage of restructuring is coming to an end. Glasnost, on the other hand, will continue, and criticism is indispensable; without that we cannot exist. Democracy and all its components must work. Without that socialism cannot function properly, it will grow decrepit and fall into the same traps in which it found itself in the recent past.

However, do not lose heart, kids. I very much liked your viewpoint that what is needed now is constructive work, political, economic, scientific, and technical work. We have put forward interesting ideas, we have tested them, life and people are accepting them, so what is needed is action. The time has come to act.

But we still have to argue frequently. Some people say it is necessary to be tougher.

What does it mean to be tougher?

Does it mean to again rely on administrative pressure, on issuing orders? After all, all that is reminiscent of the past. It is necessary to educate people, and this applies to the Komsomol too. It is necessary to strive for unity of words and actions in every organization. That is the main thing.

Exclamation: But there can be no democracy without discipline, without strict control.

M.S. Gorbachev: Discipline, sensible self-discipline, that definitely. Without individual responsibility, true democracy is impossible.

After all, what do we all want in production, for instance? We want the Gosplan not to dictate to collectives, right? We want the Gossnab not to dictate, we want enterprises to have independence, so that they can conclude contracts themselves and organize production and marketing.

If I produce machine tools and you produce metal, we must work together on the basis of a contract. Or take funds. He produces machine tools and I produce electrical equipment to go with them. This is where the funds come from. This is how they are created, this is how they come into being—not in an office.

It is necessary to feel responsibility toward each other. And this is what is so far lacking. Everyone must do his job and be responsible for it.

I. Perepelkin: We like your idea—to stop paying out money that has not been earned!

M.S. Gorbachev: This is the most important thing. If the second form of economic accountability is employed, those who try it don't then go on to abandon it—they start to work differently. And do you know what is the most important thing of all? People are teaching themselves to start working properly—for the development of their enterprise, for their wages, and for social, cultural, and consumer projects. They are teaching themselves!

I will also tell you this: You must understand that it is impossible to govern and be in charge of things in our vast country without relying on the people. That would be tantamount to admitting that our people are capable of nothing. And I will never agree to that. Never! [Gorbachev ends]

Some young people wearing red neckties stood out from the colorful, noisy crowd of young people. Pioneers, the next Komsomol generation, had come to congratulate their senior comrades on their special day. Their leader was with them, L. Zvezdina from School 609 in Zelenograd, as well as Yu. Kononenko, deputy chairman of the Moscow City Soviet Pioneer Organization, and V. Ovcharova, head of the Moscow Komsomol Gorkom Department for Work with School Students, Students at Agricultural Vocational and Technical Schools, and Pioneers. The discussion immediately got onto the serious problem of the rights of Pioneer organizations. A great deal of thought has to be given to the problem of how to make young people's lives really interesting and how to instill in them a sense of responsibility and a need to do good to others.

M.S. Gorbachev: In my opinion, young people do realize that they are not little children who need to be wet-nursed. They must feel themselves to be masters of their country—little masters, maybe, but masters nevertheless. Otherwise we will have to lead them by the hand.

L. Zvezdina: Unfortunately, not even all adults understand this yet. They do not take us seriously, because they think to themselves: They are only children, there is no need to ask their opinion....

M.S. Gorbachev: You know, we should not be so keen to line young people up in files and columns—let them get out of step. They need to be able to move—but not according to some schedule. They need space. They must be given tasks they can handle—that is what they need. And, leaders, do not torment your young charges. Just remember how you were tormented (laughter). [Gorbachev ends]

The children entered into the discussion at this point, directly, without beating about the bush, as only children can do. They immediately made a suggestion: Mikhail Sergeyevich, let us sing a song.

M.S. Gorbachev: Is it a good song? Who composed it?

Voices: It is a collective composition.

M.S. Gorbachev: And the words?

Voice: The same.

M.S. Gorbachev: In short, a song for all the people.

The song began:
You cannot live in this world,
Without a care,
Until the storm breaks over you.
Everyone must be able to speak out
And say: "I am against" or "I am for."
Your voice is your beacon and your staff,
And you will hear its anxious summons.
A choir of voiceless people is quite inconceivable,
As is a choir without different voices.

Mikhail Sergeyevich asked one young boy his name.

Ilya, and I am a student at School 408 in Perovskiy Rayon.

M.S. Gorbachev. It was an intelligent song, Ilya, a good song. A song for restructuring, with great meaning. Well done! There cannot be a choir without voices or without different voices. I am sure that is why you like the time we are living in.

Ilya Shkarinov: We have lots of good songs. We have our own traditions, the Komsomol aktiv camp, our own badges, and the Perovskiy Rayon Komsomol headquarters. [Shkarinov ends]

Mikhail Sergeyevich was introduced to the members of this headquarters—N. Kolesova, K. Kholina, Zh. Filippov, and P. Kalininkov. They told him about their work, the "Perovskiy Komsomolets" trolleybus, and the metro train with the same name.

M.S. Gorbachev: This is exactly what Ilich used to talk about. You remember? Even the simplest, the smallest of actions has a necessary, useful role to play. The thing that has pleased me most in all our conversations today is this: With all young people, Komsomol members and Pioneers alike, action is more important than meetings and parades. A lot of interesting work is being done.

Voice: The documents intended for nationwide discussion must also be discussed in every Komsomol organization. And our voices, our decisions must be heeded. What we have talked about with you today, for example, must be taken seriously.

Sasha Surogin: I am a student at School 289. I would like to ask you about army service. After the first year, young people are conscripted for 2-3 years into army or navy service, and this affects our scientific cadres. Why do we need such a large army?

M.S. Gorbachev: I think we are moving in the direction of studying this very important range of problems. You must understand that we cannot simply up and dissolve our army at a time when everyone else is maintaining theirs and arming themselves. That would be wrong. That is why we intend to take steps with other states to reduce our armies and armaments. And, generally, we must take a good look at the questions of army service and conscription. I think the question of length of service will also be raised. It could be changed. But all this is part of the normal process that will involve our actions and the steps taken by our friends and partners. Consequently, there is a grain of sense in raising the issue as such, but when people ask "why do we need an army?" I cannot take it seriously. [Gorbachev ends]

By the stands relating the life of Moscow students, Mikhail Sergeyevich was greeted by V. Trifonenko, delegate to the 19th all-union party conference and a student at Moscow's Chemical and Technology Institute, and M. Sotnikov, secretary of the Moscow State University Komsomol Committee.

M.S. Gorbachev: Just this morning Raisa Maksimovna and I were reminiscing about the Komsomol conferences at Moscow State University. Everyone really spoke their minds.

M. Sotnikov: We are not expecting an easy conference this time, to be honest. We are looking to find an answer not only to the question "who is to blame?" but also to the question "what should we do about it?"

M.S. Gorbachev: That is good.

M. Sotnikov: Everyone at the university is very much looking forward to seeing you. Not only the young people, either.

M.S. Gorbachev: I will definitely be there. [Gorbachev ends]

Questions were not only asked by students. A television correspondent was interested in M.S. Gorbachev's opinion on the meeting between Soviet and American youth to be held in Philadelphia in a month's time.

M.S. Gorbachev: I wish the meeting every success. You know, nothing in the world will change if there is no improvement in Soviet-American relations. Our states carry such weight. Understanding this, politicians are bound to conclude that these relations must be given full attention. We have reached the stage where our peoples and our countries are meeting each other halfway, casting off mistrust and prejudice, opening up to one another, and comparing their values. They have made their choice and we have made ours. Let them live how they want in their country and we will live how we want in ours. We can learn a great deal of use from one another. They are learning a very great deal from us. Particularly in the field of science. And we find it useful to look at things connected with solving some specific practical tasks. In industry, agriculture, and the social sphere. We must look and compare. It is good from a utilitarian point of view. But, you know, there is still the problem of simple trust. Improvement is only possible on the basis of trust. I think that your discussion in Philadelphia could be good, meaningful. Tell the young Americans that you have talked to me and that I welcome this dialogue. [Gorbachev ends]

I was in the United States not long ago, one young teacher said. They can teach us a few things. But I would not want to adopt their education system.

M.S. Gorbachev: There are a lot of good things about our system. What we can learn from them is the high standard of material and technical backing they have for their study process. That is what they do have. But with regard to the thought given to organizing our education process and its efficiency, we have achieved a great deal. Take the Japanese, for example: They have taken a lot from our system, supplementing it with their characteristic diligence, of course.

Voice: We are now thinking about autonomy for the university. True, this is perhaps rather premature.

M.S. Gorbachev: Just make sure you do not demand the status of a "free city." Otherwise we will have to ask for a visa to come and visit you (laughter).

Tell me, what is the mood among young students at the moment? What is their attitude to our time?

A. Prokopenya: The situation is moving very rapidly. Put it like this: A great many clubs, including political ones, are being formed by young people. In this respect we, the Komsomol, must not overlook the rational aspects and, at the same time, not deviate too much. We must regulate this process intelligently. Specialists are needed here. Both the Komsomol and teachers of the socioeconomic disciplines must become involved. It will be hard without their help.

It is also important, Mikhail Sergeyevich, to ensure that the VUZ Komsomol now concerns itself with many of the problems which it had absolutely nothing to do with before. Ecological issues, economic problems. Interethnic relations. We are faced with a paradox. We used to work in real earnest, as they say, with national groups of foreign students while doing absolutely nothing with our own, Soviet, national groups—Georgians, Armenians, say. We are now beginning to realize that Komsomol students must find their own approach to things.

M.S. Gorbachev: I am pleased that you have understood all this. Indeed, restructuring is a far-reaching, revolutionary process. After all, revolution changes the forms of social organization and revolutionizes awareness. This is always a healthy process, a deep drama, I must frankly say. As a rule, revolution is a move to a new level of life, thought, and action. Of course, the restructuring process has engendered a great deal that is not straightforward. But, in my opinion, the most important thing is still that people should feel that they are the main motive forces in this process. It cannot be otherwise in the conditions of our socialist system.

In the past the situation has been such that people have been left standing on the sidelines—from ownership, from the management of this ownership, and from the political process. The percentages all seemed to be good, but basically people only had a limited impact on political processes. They were also alienated in the spiritual

and cultural spheres. All this must now be overcome and people restored to the state of being the main characters and the masters. These mechanisms and processes will not be easy.

Students are the active intellectual section of young people—their combat section which has always been typified by maximalism. That is why there will be excesses in this area. But nonetheless I believe in these kids, they are linked through their families and through their entire lives with the whole country and with cities and villages. These are our kids. They are a vigorous part of our country and people. For them it is not necessary to make new choices; it is necessary to understand how best to implement the socialist choice and our socialist values. That, to my mind, is what people are discussing. Sometimes sharply. Accusations are made against some and complaints made about others. And these complaints are often scathing. There is a lack of political standards here too. We need to assimilate political standards now too.

We should not be afraid of these innovations, nor should we sit on the fence. We must go forward. This process will reveal whether you deserve to be Komsomol committee secretary or not.

M. Sotnikov: Kids now feel that they can really influence things.

M.S. Gorbachev: That's it, and people—workers, kolkhoz members, everyone everywhere—feel they can influence things too. That's the most important thing. The people have shrugged off their torpor.... [Gorbachev ends]

A representative of young people's television asked M.S. Gorbachev to say a few words to young viewers.

M.S. Gorbachev: I think that young people currently entering mature life on all continents are aware of their role. I welcome the fact that there is now a realization on all continents that we must not lose hold of the situation. That today the nuclear threat, ecology, and the other problems facing the world demand that mankind should unite. This awareness is a favorable basis for politics. And politics have started changing to take account of these feelings. This feeling is particularly evident in young people's activeness. I sense this everywhere. The future belongs to active young people. They will have to live in this world. And the fact that they are already concerned about the future today does them credit. I am on the side of young people who are concerned both about the present and the future. [Gorbachev ends]

The new area of the exhibition highlights new ideas and new problems. One million young men and women throughout the country have united in cooperatives in order to more rapidly resolve the housing problem for young families.

M.S. Gorbachev: I remember how hard it was for this movement to get started. I'm sure that even now things aren't going easily. It's not easy. The main thing is to tackle the job together. And not give up! [Gorbachev ends]

Youth housing complex activists shared their plans and familiarized M.S. Gorbachev with the problems of the movement, which unites 45,000 young people in Moscow alone. Youth housing complexes do not just mean giving people a roof over their heads. They are now a lifestyle: The period of construction of youth housing and even whole youth districts has seen the creation of amateur associations, special-interest clubs, and youth leisure centers.

M.S. Gorbachev: I have heard about this idea. I think it's an interesting one.

Ye. Kaydakov, chairman of the Youth Housing Complex City Council; and N. Novikov, director of the Moscow Architectural Youth Housing Complex Creation Center, familiarized M.S. Gorbachev with the details of the project for a multifunction complex on Komsomolskiy Prospekt.

M.S. Gorbachev: I'd be interested to know where you reported your ideas.

Ye. Kaydakov. We discussed them at the Moscow City Main Administration for Architecture [Glavmosarkhitektura]. We then submitted them to the Komsomol Central Committee Moscow Architectural Youth Housing Complex Creation Center, the USSR Gosstroy, and the USSR Architects Union. We are ready to begin implementation tomorrow.

M.S. Gorbachev: Will the city authorities approve?

Ye. Kaydakov: I'm sure they'll be pleased to give their approval. [Kaydakov ends]

Another project was discussed by D. Zubov, director of the Komsomol Central Committee All-Union Youth Housing Complex Center. The idea is to use the territory devoted to the construction exhibition on economically accountable principles in conjunction with the Exhibition of National Economic Achievements. A kind of innovation center would thus be established.

M.S. Gorbachev: That's interesting.

D. Zubov: And the main thing is that we're not asking for a single kopek.

M.S. Gorbachev: Really? Not a single kopek?

D. Zubov: No. We'll earn the money ourselves.

M.S. Gorbachev: It's something we're not used to. Before everyone used to love asking for everything. If your idea comes to fruition you'll not only improve this rayon, you'll gain enormous economic experience. [Gorbachev ends]

M.S. Gorbachev was greeted by Komsomol veterans in the palace's Lenin Hall. The scarlet banners along the wall represented a real history of the Komsomol. The flagstaffs were held by heroes of the civil war and the first 5-year plans, Great Patriotic War soldiers, construction workers, and trailblazers. Here too were the Komsomol cards of fallen heroes, cards pierced by bullets on the banks of the Oder and in the mountains of Afghanistan.

The veterans included G.R. Udarov, a Komsomol member since 1918 and a participant in the Civil War; A.M. Pegov, a Komsomol member since 1928, secretary of plant Komsomol committees, and first secretary of Moscow Komsomol Committee and Moscow Komsomol Gorkom; T.V. Fedorova, who joined the Komsomol in 1931 and was one of the first builders of the subway; and many others. They cordially greeted Mikhail Sergeyevich.

M.S. Gorbachev: Thank you, Komsomol veterans. Not a single generation has lived its life in vain. All have left behind worthy traces. [Gorbachev ends]

Mikhail Sergeyevich noticed some guys in military uniform and went up to the stand of the Moscow City Reservists Council.

M.S. Gorbachev: I received just such a uniform from our boys, from people who served in Afghanistan. [Gorbachev ends]

The TV monitor was showing a film about last summer's All-Union Rally of Reservists in Novorossiysk. V. Krysyakov, member of the Moscow City Reservists Council, commented on the film. The first meeting was held in Ashkhabad 2 years ago, and the first all-union rally was in Novorossiysk in August.

Such meetings are becoming a useful practice. Former internationalist servicemen feel a need to live in step with society and to become involved in the restructuring process as quickly and actively as possible. They see their role as being to give a shot in the arm to the work of military-patriotic associations and clubs, and to overcome negative phenomena in the youth sphere.

M.S. Gorbachev: I think, friends, that we ought to have publicized this topic. You recall that I mentioned this at the congress. And how it was received in the country and around the world. Today, of course, we can discuss the policies of those times, but first we must say the highest words of gratitude to our servicemen.

The country now has a particular respect for these people who have become veterans in our own time. You know that they have been receiving the same privileges as participants in the Great Patriotic War. Certain questions of their medical treatment and convalescence have been resolved. But not everything has been done as yet. Both moral and political questions await resolution. Probably not everything has been settled from the standpoint of social attention either. Not all of our guys have readapted yet after what they have been through. But I think now that everything will work out.

V. Fedin, member of the reservists council: This is now the most important task for our movement. Initially people joined together haphazardly. Many problems cropped up. However, the party Central Committee stated its position and gave us its full support.

M.S. Gorbachev: And then, people who have been through the fires of war are quite different people. Their outlook is different and they have a different understanding of life. For my own part I can remember that, although I didn't fight in the war, we did experience the war. And that always stays with you.

A. Nemeshayev, council member: Mikhail Sergeyevich, the Komsomol gorkom first secretary and I have often visited the party gorkom, and we have been given great assistance. Our documents are almost ready. Now we will finally adopt our resolution on the reservists council.

M.S. Gorbachev: Let's agree to do the following. You and Comrade Mironenko think everything over—the things that have worked and the things that are still not working. And he'll report back to us.

Television Carries Report

LD0111174688 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1600 GMT 31 Oct 88

[Report with video of CPSU General Secretary Gorbachev's meeting with members of the Moscow Komsomol at the Moscow Youth Palace on 29 October—individual Komsomol members not further identified]

[Text] [Announcer] The Moscow Youth Palace. Young men and women from all parts of the capital gathered here on the 70th anniverary of the Komsomol. With them was Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. An exhibition entitled "The Moscow Komsomol Meets the 70th Anniversary of the Komsomol" is taking place in the halls of the Youth Palace. This is not a traditional anniversary report, but a living account of the initiatives of young people, a list of their problems and issues, searches, and solutions. These were at the center of the conversations that took place between Mikhail Sergeyevich and the Komsomol members. [video shows people in the foyer of the Youth Palace; Gorbachev, Raisa

Gorbacheva, Zaykov, Medvedev, Mironenko, and other unidentified figures walking up steps out of the foyer; exhibition display of newspapers, posters and pamphelts]

The exhibition "Young People's Labor Initiative for Restructuring," for example, featured a model of an experimental young people's market gardening complex set up in the Moscow Oblast: 170 families have joined together to form an association for working the land, and even today their results are not bad.

[Gorbachev] And what's this?

[Komsomol member] It's ready in principle. It is the house I have been talking about. This particular one is a field station for a land-working cooperative: In addition to the market-gardening association we are going to set up a cooperative.

[Unidentified speaker] That's why it's called experimental.

[Zaykov] We have to give them support.

[Gorbachev] The main thing is that they've been able to find land in the Moscow Oblast: That's good. I think that if you're successful then it's a good example.

[Komsomol member] Success means the first output!

[video shows model of farming installation, Gorbachev and others looking at it and talking with one of the young people showing the exhibits]

[Announcer] The attention of Mikhail Serageyevich is drawn by a chart for a field-to-counter agricultural produce supply system operating under financial autonomy. Four agricultural detachments—to which 600 students belong—have gathered and sold to Muscovites about 300 tonnes of vegetables in just one summer.

In the "Moscow Students' Detachment" section of the exhibition the talk was about the contribution of Komsomol members to the reconstruction of the capital.

[Gorbachev] Who's the commissar?

[Komsomol member in commissar uniform] I'm the commissar.

[Gorbachev] There's the commissar, there's the commissar! Where have you been working?

[Komsomol member] This year I've been working in the rayon detachment.

[Gorbachev] And how many young are there in the detachment?

[Komsomol member] The detachments vary—from around 20 to 45.

[Gorbachev] Do the young people like it?

[Komsomol member] They like it, of course. We have a construction detachment, but those from Moscow make faces, they don't want to come because, well, they're in Moscow, they don't want to, the pay is low, the problems are big.

[Gorbachev] Let's get working on the Moscow people.

[Komsomol member] I'll try!

[Gorbachev] I saw in the GDR—when they are celebrating the anniversary this year...

[Raisa Gorbacheva, interrupting] The 750th anniversary.

[Gorbachev, continuing] ...for several years they've been taking part, the whole republic, in making the capital look more impressive. That's what Moscow needs now. They announced ahead of schedule that everything had been done, that it was a communist city; now it has to be made into a good socialist city, and then we have to take big strides toward making it a communist one.

[Komsomol member] We have the greater part of workers in Moscow—40,000, 25 (?city rayons).

[Gorbachev] I think you could even have a slogan: the 850th anniversary—that would be a good motto to have. And then there are things...the young people don't have to be tied to major projects, they can be looked after by the main construction organizations, but there are many corners that simply need improving, reconstructing, things going for people, what they're used to, preserving, that's the thing.

[Announcer] The young men and women told Mikhail Sergeyevich about where and how they had been working during the previous summer, what they had achieved, what they had not quite succeeded in. The students had been mastering professions essential for restoration work: Some had become real painters, some carpenters, some stonemasons.

[Gorbachev] Well done, boys and girls! You know it's good that the Komsomol has now turned toward life, toward life. Both in political and economic and cultural affairs, in everything—it's good! Because everything else passes, but this remains. This is life. Life's the main thing. And then we only come into this life once, and letting it slip by is a more serious mistake, especially where the Komsomol is concerned.

[video shows Gorbachev with Raisa Gorbacheva and Zaykov and others talking to a group of students at the exhibition]

[Announcer] In the foyer of the palace Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev spoke with a group of young working people:

[Gorbachev] I congratulate you all! You know what I was pleased about? Only now, even, since the 20th congress of the Komsomol—only now has a true search, a reinterpretation, begun: Something serious is happening in our Komsomol. Not unambiguously, immoderately at times, but there is a desire to bring back the real spirit of that political organization. And let it be such. Let there be, alongside associations of boys and girls according to their interests, clubs, and let there be Komsomols there: But there must be a political organization as Lenin intended. A forest won't grow without undergrowth—it will die. The party, unless there is at its side a militant political youth organization that shares the party's aims, will also die. We, generally speaking, are anxious for the Komsomol first and foremost, because it is both the successor of the departing generations and the successor of the Communists. Notwithstanding everything that has happened in the history of the Komsomol, it has nevertheless always fulfilled its main task. There have been losses and misfortunes: If those years with their stagnation and with their distortions were reflected in society, all the more so was the effect of this upon the young people and their energy, and it fettered them especially. We therefore consider that if restructuring is for anyone, it's for you. We'll do another term or two if we are elected and then that'll be it. From then on it'll be you, from then on it'll be you!

[Komsomol member] Thank you for the (?confidence).

[Gorbachev] The Komsomol, the Komsomol, the Komsomol! In 1946 I first joined the Komsomol.

[Komsomol member] Sergey Petrovich Chernykh.

[Gorbachev] What year were you born in, Serezha?

[Chernykh] In 1962.

[Gorbachev] In 1962, well, well!

[Chernykh] Well, the thing is, we ourselves were about to publish a Komsomol newspaper, but unfortunately—it's the only one, you understand—in our town sometimes even....

[Gorbachev] You build a paper factory, and you'll be able to, you just publish your newspaper.

[Komsomol member] We'll find the paper all right!

[Chernykh] It's not the paper that's the problem.

[Gorbachev] Oh, I think so! A newspaper is a good thing, I reckon.

[Komsomol member] A confirmation of the healthy state of things is the turnabout in the press, the fact that subscription restrictions have been lifted now. That is a very good step toward restructuring really being able to become irreversible.

[Gorbachev] But you had begun to suspect that someone wants to curtail it, eh?

[Komsomol member] Not only me, there are various views....

[Other Komsomol member] Lots of people, because....

[Gorbachev] You know, I...the fact that you are concerned about restructuring is the main thing for me. Well done! And watch out: If anyone anywhere drags it back, don't let them. That's my instruction to you, and my request. It's your cause and your destiny, restructuring. Come what may, (?our lifetime is not long enough, we shall do our work), but what will happen then? You have long to live yet. That's the first thing. Secondly, as regards what happened with the press, I have to say: This is not a relapse into some sort of conservatism or anything like that, or someone's whim to shut people's mouths. No, no! I'll tell you what it is, we've had hitches with paper. We have now brought out everything, literally, everything that could be done from inside. We appealed to the workers. The literature that we could see could be cut down on, we cut down on it and got paper from there. We have cut down on all offices and taken paper away from there. And now, in general, in the next...

[Medvedev, interrupting] No, no, there will be no restrictions, there will be no more restrictions.

[Gorbachev] There will be no restrictions...

[Medvedev, interrupting] Only...

[Gorbachev, interrupting] There will be no restrictions, and we have planned—and we haven't just thought of it, it's already being done—to add 500,000 tonnes of paper, so as to remove this problem altogether once and for all.

[Komsomol member] [passage indistinct] In the spiritual sphere they will undoubtedly make improvements, not only [words indistinct].

[Gorbachev] You know why they did not take place? If we analyze things seriously—as we should—meetings have already been held, we have to know things, the intoxication of the moment is passing, and life is now beginning: This policy must now be put into effect, into practice. We should have stopped to think: Why was there no success? Things got going after the 20th congress, after all. I remember it as well. Yes, I remember it all well, and I was a delegate at the 22d congress, when very major, far-reaching decisions were made. Much of what we are doing now comes from them. Things got

bogged down. Why was that? We arrive at an answer through what you said. [Gorbachev points to a Komsomol member] Each person should feel that he is a protagonist in this destiny. This was often bureaucratic in nature; various levels of management took part, but the main character did not even get a walk-on part. We have therefore decided to proceed by way of openness, glasnost, and democratism to bring society out of its state of stagnation.

You, I think, must take part. You share this policy, but you must take part in all the processes of political life. The Komsomol must have its say on any and every issue, and must be present in this political process. Don't lose time! You are more insistent, and when nominations are under way in the constituencies, demonstrate the initiative of your own candidates. I have been very pleased to hear what you said, that what we need now is constructive political work, work in business and scientific research. That is, we have put forward interesting ideas, we have put them to the test, and life is accepting them, the people are accepting them, [passage indistinct]. All the time I have discussions with workers, with young people, and they say, "Be more firm!". Well, we can if you want.

[Voices] It is necesary.

[Gorbachev] But how can we be more firm?

[Voices] It is a very complicated issue.

[Gorbachev] Well, what I say is, no, what does more firm mean? Does it mean we depend on administrative pressure again, or issuing commands? Because that is where firmness begins. But I, and my comrades with me in the Central Committee, want this firmness to be the result of collective actions, your choice, that of every Komsomol organization and party organization.

[Komsomol member] You cannot have democracy without discipline and strict control.

[Gorbachev] It must be so, absolutely.

[Komsomol member] At the same time, as far as I know, I worked in Uzbek television, and there are many places in Uzbekistan in particular that the economic reform is bogged down. Unfortunately, the enterprises that have gone over to financial autonomy are supplied with state orders, and then they are not provided with incoming supplies. That is, the Council of Ministers, sorry, Gosplan, has not organized the supplies.

[Gorbachev] Gosplan?

[Komsomol member] Yes.

[Gorbachev] But why Gosplan?

[Komsomol member] Because it has not kept checks on things.

[Gorbachev] Why should Gosplan keep checking? After all, what have we arrived at? That Gosplan should not dictate things, isn't that right? That Gossnab should not dictate things. That enterprises, once they are given independence, should conclude their own contracts, and organize themselves as life requires.

[Komsomol member] But if there are no stocks, then what?

[Gorbachev] So, the stocks come about, if I produce machine tools and you produce metal, then we join together on the basis of a contract, and there you have part of the stocks. He produces electrical devices for it, for the machine tool, electrical devices, and there are some stocks. So they are formed. Where do they come from? Are they created in an office? Or Gossnab? This problem has to be resolved through the enterprises, but the enterprises must be better at making agreements with each other, they must be more responsible toward each other, and that is what is lacking thus far. Everyone has to do his job.

[Komsomol member] Quite right. Everyone must be made to answer for his work.

[Gorbachev] But who is making him answer?

[Komsomol member] Well, his superiors. [laughter]

[Gorbachev] no, no!

[Voices] The people, perhaps via their soviet, at the grassroots.

[Gorbachev] That's right. There you are. So there must be democracy in the labor collective, and in the soviet, you understand, so that a deputy there can have powers at his disposal and really make demands of people.

[Komsomol member] Mikhail Sergeyevich, it is a very good idea to stop paying unearned money.

[Gorbachev] The main thing is that you have to be the controllers yourselves.

[Announcer] A good example of how an interesting idea can become a concrete deed was displayed by the students from Moscow Intermediate Training School No 115 which trains personnel for light industry. [video shows Gorbachev moving through crowd]

Looking around the exhibition, Mikhail Sergeyevich went up to Moscow schoolchildren. The Pioneers and their guides greeted their elder comrades on their festive day.

[Pioneer] Mikhail Sergeyevich, let us sing a song.

[Gorbachev] Is it a good one?

[Pioneer] Yes, we have a good one.

[Pioneers sing] One cannot live a life without a care;
Until the thunderstorm rolls above one;
And everyone must have his choice;
His own "I am for" and "I am against".
And your voice is your beacon and your staff;
You must heed its alarm;
You cannot have a choir of dumb people;
And a choir without different voices is unthinkable.
Go forward and go for it;
(?Don't give up at) your first port of call;
Don't forget the song that was sung;
And the call that was made by your voice.

[Gorbachev] That is a good song, a restructuring one and a clever one. It has a lot of meaning. Well done! First of all the song, then the work, and in general, a song is something in itself.

[Pioneer] [words indistinct]

[Gorbachev] It is something that Ilich once said, you remember? That the very simplest, very smallest thing is necessary and useful, not useless. What I like about all the conversations today is that I get the feeling that for all the kids, all the generations of Komsomols, it is not the rallies and the festivals that are to the fore, but action. There are a lot of interesting things going on.

[Pioneer] At the moment we want the documents that are meant for nationwide discussion to be in every Komsomol group, so that we can discuss them ourselves and come up with our decisions for the forthcoming....

[Announcer] At the displays telling of the life of the Komsomol in higher education, the conversation turns to how Moscow students, of whom there are more than half a million in the capital, are trying to interpret their position in public life in a new way.

[Gorbachev] As it happens, Raisa Maksimovna and I were recalling this morning the Komsomol conferences in the Moscow State University, and how sharp-tongued they were.

[Unidentified woman] And now we are expecting the same thing.

[Unidentified man] Mikhail Sergeyevich, in a month there will be a gigantic meeting of Soviet and U.S. young people, [words indistinct].

[Gorbachev] Where?

[Man] In Philadelphia. There will be nearly 200 people there, Soviet and U.S., politicians, students. How do you appraise the role of young Soviet and American people in the development of relations?

[Gorbachev] I welcome it in every way. You know, without the improvement of Soviet-U.S. relations, things will not change in the world. That is the reality. These states carry such weight. An understanding of this must lead politicians to the conclusion that they must be deeply involved in these relations. I think that the present time is a period when our peoples and our countries have come to meet each other, clearing away distrust and prejudice, and opening up to each other and comparing their values. They have made their choice, we have made ours. Let them live as they wish in their country, and we shall live as we wish.

[Man] What you are saying is that we must respect each other.

[Gorbachev] That's right! And, you know, it turns out we can extract much that is useful. They take a lot from us, they keep quiet about it, it seems. And particularly thoroughly as far as science is concerned. It is also useful for us to have a look at the things connected with resolving certain specific practical matters in the sphere of industry, or municipal matters, or agrarian matters and the social sphere. It is interesting, all of this, to compare, to have a look. This is good, from a utilitarian point of view, if you like. But there is the problem still of [word indistinct] trust. On the basis of trust, this improvement and progress are possible. I think that we have things to talk about. It is already possible for you to analyze how this movement began, and you can get talking together well. Tell them you have had a chat with me, and that he welcomed (?such a dialogue).

[Man] I was recently in the United States, too, and I would say that there are things we could learn, but I would never adopt the whole of their educational system.

[Gorbachev] There is a lot in our system. What they have is plenty of equipment. But as far as concerns the thinking through, the whole organization of the process, we have a lot. Bear in mind that the Japanese have taken a lot from us, and then added their own efforts.

[Man] At the moment we are considering autonomy of the university. Perhaps it is a bit premature.

[Gorbachev] (?And for the USSR), too? [laughter]

[Man] Yes.

[Gorbachev] Not a free city! Otherwise we will have to ask for a visa to come and see you! Tell me, what is the mood of the student youth, you who are present here, what is their attitude to our times?

[Man] [passage indistinct]

[Man] It is also significant, Mikhail Sergeyevich, that the Komsomol is now addressing many problems in higher education that never used to be discussed. Ecological

issues, economic issues, the formation of various financially autonomous associations and many others. Interethnic relations too. A paradox has emerged: In the past we were able to work with foreign students' national associations, but we had no contact with the Soviet national associations that exist in Georgia and Armenia. Now we are moving toward this, and it is probably very important that the Komsomol students sanction in particular [word indistinct].

[Gorbachev] I am very glad that you see things from this perspective because the actual process of restructuring is a profound process, a revolutionary one. But revolution is not always a matter of cannons and gunfire and whistling bullets. This revolution is a revolution in awareness, a change in the way society is organized. It always leads to an improvement in health. It is, let us say plainly, I would say, a profound drama. Revolution usually means arriving at a new level of life in thinking and in actions. Of course restructuring has had a good deal of effect, though not uniformly I agree, but the main thing is that people have come to feel they they are the central characters, and this is all the more true in the conditions of our socialist society, because in our system the individual is the central character.

What has happened—we are not talking about this now—is that people have been alienated from property, from managing that property, and from the political process. There was the semblance of being represented; the percentages were all good ones, but in reality they had only limited influence on the political process. And there was also alienation in the spiritual sphere and the cultural sphere. All this must be overcome, and people must get back their status as the central character, the man in charge. These mechanisms, these processes come about easily. Of course, students—I understand this—have always stood out as the most active, intellectual section of young people, a militant and energetic part of the country and the people. There will be times when you go too far. But all the same, I think, I believe in the kids; they are already connected with the country, with the towns and villages, through their families and their lives. They are our kids, come what may. What they need is not to make a fresh choice, but to understand and find their place in implementing this choice of socialism, and in implementing these socialist values. In my opinion, this is what the discussion is about. Sometimes it's sharp. Some are accused, some lay claims against others. Sometimes things become difficult and sharp. Sometimes the political standards are not high enough. All this must be mastered now.

But I would draw my own conclusion that we must not be frightened of these new things. What do you think? The fact that we must not sit on the fence, that's a different matter, there you're right. We must keep moving, keep moving, and this, this process, will make it clear whether you've been right in occupying the post of secretary of the Komsomol committee or not.

[Unidentified man] Young people have felt that they can influence things, you know.

[Gorbachev] Fine. People have felt that they can influence things; workers, collective farmers, everywhere. This is the main thing. People have emerged from their torpor.

[Man] Perhaps you could say a few words to those young people who will be looking at us in different countries in the world.

[Gorbachev] I think that young people who are entering their mature life today on all continents recognize their role. And I welcome the fact that on all continents now there is an understanding that it is possible to lose control of a situation, that today there is a nuclear threat. There are ecological and other problems that face the world that require people to unite. People have recognized this. This is fertile soil for politics. I think that politics have also started to change with due regard for these feelings. These feelings are shown especially in the activity of young people; this is something I feel everywhere. I think that active young people are justified in taking this standpoint because the future belongs to them. They are going to have to live in this world, and the fact that even today they are concerning themselves about that future, that is to their credit. I am on the side of young people who are concerned about the future, about the present day and the future. [video shows Gorbachev talking to a group of young people standing around him]

[Announcer] Activists of the young people's housing complex share their plans with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. In the capital alone this movement brings together 45,000 young men and women from industrial enterprises and establishments. The young people's housing complex is not simply a roof over one's head; today it means a life style. Amateur activities associations, clubs for particular interests, and young people's leisure centers are being created even while the young people's houses and even entire youth districts are being built. Leaders of the city council of the young people's housing complex and young architets show Mikhail Sergeyevich the details of a plan for a multipurpose complex on Komsomolskiy Prospekt.

[Gorbachev] I would like to know who you have reported your ideas to?

[Unidentified man] In principle we are beginning to show our ideas to the (?Glavmosarkhitektura). I represent the Moscow architecture center under the all-union association for setting up young people's housing complexes under the Komsomol Central Committee, Gosstroy, and the Union of Architects of the USSR, and tomorrow we are ready to embark upon this project; we can show you.

[Gorbachev] You know what my advice to you is? Prepare a good written report putting all this down on paper and send it to Comrades Zaykov and Saykin.

[Man] All right.

[Zaykov] We're already dealing with it, Mikhail Sergeyevich!

[Gorbachev] And I will push it through!

[Man] All right. Thank you very much.

[video shows Gorbachev and entourage speaking with group of young people and looking at building plans displayed at the exhibition]

[Announcer] Young men in military uniform are in the foyer of the Palace of Youth. They are former internationalist servicemen. They want to bring life to the work of the military-patriotic associations and clubs. [video shows Gorbachev and entourage in the foyer]

Central Committee Greetings

PM0111154388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Oct 88 Second Edition p 1

[CPSU Central Committee undated greetings to Komsomol on its 70th anniversary]

[Text] To the All-Union Lenin Komsomol

The CPSU Central Committee cordially congratulates Komsomol members and veterans, young people, and all Soviet people on a significant date—the Komsomol's 70th anniversary.

Born during the fiery years of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the Lenin Komsomol was always with its people throughout their heroic path and always responded to the motherland's call. In labor and battle Komsomol members acted shoulder to shoulder with Communists, gave a lead to young men and women, and rushed wherever things were difficult, wherever the enthusiasm and energy of youth were needed. The Komsomol made a tremendous contribution to the education of millions of fighters devoted to socialism's ideas, and its deeds comprise an unfading page of our history.

At this fateful time for the country the party counts on the tremendous potential of the Komsomol and the country's entire young generation, on their boldness and initiative, on their desire for living action, and on their intolerance of routine and red tape.

It is important that the Komsomol honestly and openly exposes shortcomings in its activity and persistently seeks to get Komsomol organizations out of their state of stiffness and inertia, to get to the bottom of the problems of concern to young people, and to resolve them in the young people's interests. The Komsomol's ability to enhance its vanguard role among young people, to develop their social activeness and self-motivated activity, and to shape their ideological conviction and certainty as to the correctness of the renewal of society being carried out by the party is becoming a fundamental question of the Komsomol's life and activity. The criterion of the Komsomol's work is its actual contribution to the cause of restructuring. It is on this basis that the Komsomol's real role as the political organization of Soviet youth will grow.

Everything that constitutes the policy of restructuring elaborated by the party—the radical reforms of the economy and of the political system, democratization, the elevation of the spiritual sphere, and the moral renewal of society—is the vital concern of the Komsomol and the entire young generation. Within the ranks of their union young people are called upon to receive political training and to learn democracy, creativity, independence, and the ability to champion the ideas of socialism and of society's revolutionary renewal. In practical interethnic contacts, in joint studies and work, and in military service they are to develop and keep sacred the traditions of patriotism and of the international fraternity of the Soviet Union's peoples. Glasnost and openness in expressing one's positions and the broad development of self-motivating principles in the life of the Komsomol must be combined with a high degree of organization and with responsibility for words and actions.

The Leninist traditions of party leadership of the Komsomol are being revived. This opens up the possibility of its creative involvement in the economic, political, and social spheres of restructuring and helps the young generation to gain the experience of people's power and to acquire political culture at a new stage of socialism's development. The purpose of the policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state with regard to young people is to develop their active mass participation in the process of society's renewal, to open up scope for independence, and to educate through real deeds and real responsibility.

The CPSU Central Committee is firmly confident that the Lenin Komsomol will confirm by means of deeds its lofty purpose of being the party's closest helper and reserve, will inscribe glorious new pages in the chronicle of the struggle for the revolution's ideals and for the planet's peaceful future, and will prove its right to be the young guard of restructuring.

[Signed] CPSU Central Committee

Komsomol's Mironenko Interviewed, Urges 'Trust'

LD2710152288 Moscow TASS in English 1419 GMT 27 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 27 TASS—When working with the young, the most important thing is to trust them, Viktor Mironenko believes. The first secretary of the Central Committee of the USSR Young Communist

League (Komsomol) with a membership of some 37 million pointed out in an interview with the magazine SOVIET UNION that "The young should participate in the taking of decisions affecting their interests on all the levels, ranging from labour collectives to the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee." With this in view it is necessary to expand their representation in all the bodies of state power. This is the only way to render effective assistance to those sections of the youth that need it, Mironenko pointed out.

He said that some four million young families in the USSR were waiting to receive a new flat. However, the problem is being resolved more quickly when young people display initiative. This follows from the construction of apartment houses by young people themselves. There were only two such apartment houses in the country in 1985. The figure for 1987 was 12, and today some 300 apartment houses are in the stage of designing.

Mironenko pointed out that the development of the Komsomol activities required substantial resources. "In the past 20 years the volume of fixed assets of Komsomol reached 615 million rubles. Komsomol has its own export potential in the sphere of science-consuming, tourist and other services which it can render at its own enterprises."

Speaking about new trends in the work of Komsomol, Mironenko pointed out that the 20th YCL Congress held in 1987 had tried to critically analyze processes which were under way in the organization. However, he said that the putting into practice of its resolutions could not be described as successful. One of the reasons for that is the fact that many Komsomol functionaries cannot give up the stereotypes of behaviour formed in the past. And still, the process of the democratization of Komsomol is under way. "Earlier we acted on the principle 'From the top downwards', in other words, those who were on the top managed Komsomol and the rank-and-file fulfilled their orders. Today we are relying on the initiative and interests of the rank-and-file," Mironenko said.

Touching upon the international relations of Komsomol, Mironenko said that at present there are no major youth organizations with which Komsomol would not maintain relations. The biggest youth organizations with which it maintains contacts are the Democratic Youth and the International Union of Students. Cooperation with young socialists, liberals, the revolutionary democratic movements and religious youth organizations became more active. "We are working out forms of cooperation with socialist and developing countries, with European states, with the U.S. and Japan. The young have always played an important part in the struggle for peace. This is why we have set ourselves the task of trying to maintain a dialogue with all the youth movements", Mironenko pointed out.

Shevardnadze Speaks at Foreign Ministry Meeting

LD0111220388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 1 Nov 88

[Text] A conference of the party organization of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs ended in Moscow today. The Communists heard a report from the party committee and discussed the course and problems of restructuring in the ministry. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of foreign affairs, spoke at the conference.

Further Reportage on Supreme Soviet Session

State Budget Law Published

PM0111164188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 2

["USSR Law on the USSR State Budget for 1989"—IZVESTIYA headline]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet resolves:

Article 1. The USSR State Budget for 1989 submitted by the USSR Council of Ministers is to be approved taking into account the amendments by the Soviet of the Union and Soviet of Nationalities Budget and Planning Commissions, Industrial Commissions, Energy Commissions, Transport and Communications Commissions, Construction and Construction Materials Industry Commissions, Agro-Industrial Complex Commissions, Science and Technology Commissions, Consumer Goods and Services for the Population Commissions, Communal Housing and Municipal Economy Commissions, Foreign Affairs Commissions, Health and Social Security Commissions, Public Education and Culture Commissions, Maternity, Child Development. and the Work and Life of Women Commissions, Youth Affairs Commissions, and Conservation and Rational Utilization of Natural Resources Commissions in the sum of R459,814,445,000 for income and R494,797,545,000 for expenditure.

The excess of expenditure over income (the deficit) of the USSR State Budget for 1989 is to be set at the sum of R34,983,100,000.

Article 2. Income from state and cooperative enterprises and organizations is to be set at the total sum of R420,454,226,000 in the USSR State Budget for 1989.

Article 3. Expenditure on funding the national economy is to be set at the total sum of R278,898,503,000 in the USSR State Budget for 1989.

Article 4. Allocations for sociocultural measures are to be set at the total sum of R163,498,887,000 in the USSR State Budget for 1989, including the sum of R62,260,064,000 under the state social insurance budget.

Article 5. Allocations for the maintenance of Army and Navy personnel, material and technical supplies, military building, and other USSR Defense Ministry expenditure are to be set at the sum of R20,244,000,000 in the USSR State Budget for 1989.

Article 6. Allocations for the maintenance of organs of state power and management, courts, and the prosecutor's office are to be set at the sum of R2,890,261,000 in the USSR State Budget for 1989.

Article 7. The union budget for 1989 is to be approved in the sum of R230,670,962,000 for income and in the sum of R265,654,062,000 for expenditure.

The excess of expenditure over income (the deficit) in the union budget for 1989 is to be set at the sum of R34,983,100,000.

Article 8. The union republic state budgets for 1989 are to be set at the sum of R229,143,483,000 for income and expenditure, including for the union republics:

	(thousand rubles)
RSFSR	126,471,394
Ukrainian SSR	36,885,007
Belorussian SSR	11,021,830
Uzbek SSR	10,029,374
Kazakh SSR	14,253,529
Georgian SSR	4,067,359
Azerbaijan SSR	3,807,936
Lithuanian SSR	4,581,385
Moldavian SSR	3,395,802
Latvian SSR	3,133,405
Kirghiz SSR	2,691,764
Tajik SSR	2,374,890
Armenian SSR	2,460,199
Turkmen SSR	1,934,322
Estonian SSR	2,035,287

Article 9. Normatives for deductions paid into the union republic state budgets are to be approved for 1989:

a) from turnover tax:

	(in percentages)
RSFSR	84.4
Ukrainian SSR	68.2
Belorussian SSR	71.1
Uzbek SSR	100.0
Kazakh SSR	100.0
Georgian SSR	100.0
Azerbaijan SSR	74.6
Lithuanian SSR	94.3
Moldavian SSR	86.5
Latvian SSR	56.8
Kirghiz SSR	100.0
Tajik SSR	100.0
Armenian SSR	76.7
Turkmen SSR	100.0
Estonian SSR	79.4

b) from income tax on the population: In the Uzbek SSR, the Kazakh SSR, the Georgian SSR, the Latvian SSR, the Kirghiz SSR, the Tajik SSR, the Turkmen SSR, and the Estonian SSR—100 percent.

In 1989 the following subsidies are to be allocated from the union budget to fund the measures envisaged by the State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1989: R1,960,997,000 to the Uzbek SSR State Budget; R2,698,267,000 to the Kazakh SSR State Budget; R510,857,000 to the Kirghiz SSR State Budget; R321,381,000 to the Tajik SSR State Budget; and R403,328,000 to the Turkmen SSR State Budget.

Article 10. The USSR Council of Ministers is instructed to examine the proposals and comments set forth in the findings of the Budget and Planning Commissions and other standing commissions of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities on the USSR State Budget for 1989, as well as the proposals and comments made by deputies at sessions of the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers, and to adopt appropriate decisions on them.

[Signed] M. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

T. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

The Kremlin, Moscow, 28 October 1988

Budget Report Approved

PM0211082188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 2

["USSR Supreme Soviet Resolution On Approving the Report on the Implementation of the USSR State Budget for 1987"—IZVESTIYA headline]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet resolves:

That the report on the implementation of the USSR State Budget for 1987 in the sum of R435,504,336,000 for income, with due regard for the enlisted USSR Gosbank credit resources, and in the sum of R430,930,210,000 for expenditure be approved.

[Signed] M. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

T. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

Moscow, Kremlin, 28 October 1988

Marchuk Address Published

PM0211100388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 2

["Speech by Deputy G.I. Marchuk, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences," at 27 October 1988 morning joint session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union and Soviet of Nationalities in the Great Kremlin Palace, Moscow]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Deputies! Leading scientists of the USSR Academy of Sciences examined the draft State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1989, which is being discussed by the Supreme Soviet session today. Allow me to announce our common view. In our analysis, we will address general problems of the economy and of scientific and technical progress, and I would especially like to draw your attention to the difficult questions we all are going to come up against in the process of fulfilling the plan. The draft we are discussing is being examined in special circumstances. This is the first annual plan after the 19th all-union party conference, which mapped out the fundamental avenues for the social and economic reorganization of Soviet society and marked the beginning of a new stage in the restructuring of our political system and the radical economic reform.

The 1989 plan takes our economy into the "home straight" of the 5-year plan period. Its results will largely depend on how we utilize the new opportunities emerging as a result of the adoption of the laws on the state enterprise and the cooperative movement, of the further democratization of society, and of the development of working people's self-management. We also have to adopt new constitutional provisions. The year 1989 will be a difficult one. Restructuring in the economic sphere has not yet enabled us to overcome obsolete approaches and the inertia-laden aspects of extensive development. At the same time, using the 5-year plan targets as guidelines, we must take an increasingly decisive stance—and we are doing so—in favor of strengthening the social sphere and ensuring a fundamental boost in machine building and the agro-industrial complex, the key avenues which determine the whole country's social and economic progress. This is one of the very complex features of the present stage of transition to an intensive path. It is at the same time the main difficulty in putting together the draft state plan.

How is this contradiction to be resolved and how are the emerging difficulties to be overcome? Do we have an answer to these questions? Yes, we do. The main thing to be done today is to give a major new fillip to scientific and technical progress and, on this basis, to steer a course of saving resources and being thrifty in all sectors of the national economy. This is what underlies the plan. It must be noted that the plan envisages major positive structural changes in favor of the social sphere which are in line with the long-term concept for the country's socioeconomic development recently examined by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo. The share of the consumption fund in national income will be greatly increased. At the same time, there will be a substantial redistribution of capital investments in favor of social purposes. This is the first time that it has been planned to more than double the growth rate of consumer goods production by industry compared with that of the production of means of production.

Esteemed comrades! Taking a broad look at the processes which will have to be implemented in the plan on the basis of the 19th all-union party conference decisions, I would say that the plan marks a major turnabout in our history toward the needs of each person individually and toward society as a whole.

The increase of the production of agricultural output, and primarily of foodstuffs, must be listed as one of the major problems. This was said at the 19th all-union party conference. We must solve this problem in the next few years. It is an economic problem of the first magnitude, and simultaneously a political problem. This is the question that is being raised most urgently today.

The draft plan envisages, as you know, an increase in agricultural output of R8 billion compared with the 5-year plan indicators. It is also right that the draft plan strongly emphasizes the processing, storage, and transportation of agricultural output, where we suffer the main losses. It is here that we have vast reserves. But it is also here that we encounter the greatest difficulties and the inertia of the past.

Among all the major endeavors that we must set in motion in the next few years, there are, of course, the questions of the storage of agricultural output, resource-saving, and transportation. This was repeatedly said at the 19th all-union party conference and at CPSU Central Committee plenums.

A successful solution to the food problem will be found not only along the path of the simultaneous large-scale introduction of intensive technologies in agriculture and the processing sectors, but primarily along the path of widely introducing lease contracts and other progressive forms of labor organization. As a representative of the USSR Academy of Sciences, I can say that something new is really happening in society's awareness. The lease contract form provides the closest possible link between man as producer and the means of production. This was also said in the report to the 19th all-union party conference. In actual fact, we can emphasize that lease contracts are not just another campaign; they are the way toward renewal of socialist ownership. Making man a genuine master of the land, the equipment, and all social wealth—this is the main lever for restructuring in the economy and in society as a whole. (applause)

But this is a very complex question, comrades. It is complex because we have had many experiments, we have had many economic approaches. But only now have we discovered the main approach toward this work. An important role in its practical implementation has to be played by us all, deputies and working people.

The saving of labor and of material and financial resources determines the pace of our economic development and the growth of national income. A great gap has opened up during the first 3 years of the 5-year plan as regards targets for resource savings. I would like to say that we cannot take a decisive step toward resource saving unless we tackle this work jointly. After all, we are seriously behind the developed capitalist countries, our national income's metal-intensiveness being threefold that of the United States, its energy-intensiveness being 1.5 times greater, and our output per cubic meter of timber being several times lower. Our cement consumption is twice as bad.

World experience has shown that major positive changes in resource-saving can be achieved only on the basis of the latest technologies and the broad introduction of new materials. Structural plastics instead of steel, composite materials and ceramics instead of durable alloys, pressed powder articles instead of cut metal. All this, and much else besides, offers major reserves for savings. Science has prepared these solutions. We are very near to developing devices for high-temperature superconductivity, which literally means a new technical revolution in the world. This is, furthermore, a huge reserve for energy savings. Other major scientific problems are emerging which will give a new boost to resource saving.

The 1989 plan envisages the production of considerably larger quantities of advanced polymer structural materials, especially pure substances and chemical reagents for microelectronics, multilayer materials based on ferrous metals, and much else besides. The trend toward resource saving correctly underlies the plan, but the ministries and departments and the production associations and enterprises could ensure much better utilization of reserves for resource saving and especially of secondary raw materials. This is our number one task. Whenever we want to get to the essence, the innermost core of what determines our national income growth rates, we always come to resource saving. This is why the saving of resources is now the main component in boosting our national income.

In the opinion of the USSR Academy of Sciences, it is now impossible to change this situation via persuasion and appeals. It is first and foremost necessary to review wholesale prices on a consumption-cutting [protivozatratnyy] basis within the framework of enterprises' transition to self-financing and full economic accountability, which is already under way. I would like to emphasize that it is by no means a question of raising prices, but of linking prices to the quality and efficiency of production. Higher prices for highly efficient equipment must be accompanied by a decisive and unfailing reduction in prices for obsolete equipment reflecting yesterday's technological ideas.

Scientific and technical progress is the key to an intensive economy. The draft plan contains positive shifts also in this sphere. First, a few words about machine building. Its most important role was especially emphasized in the report to the 19th all-union party conference. Indeed, machine building is the highest-priority sphere of scientific and technical progress which plays a decisive role in the country's economic development. It is impossible to modernize a single sector of the national economy without its output.

Speaking about the development of machine building, I would like to mention that we recently held a general meeting of the USSR Academy of Sciences devoted to discussing the tasks of fundamental science in light of the 19th all-union party conference decisions. One of the main questions at our general meeting was the problem of setting science's tasks so as to ensure the development of the national economy's priority spheres, primarily machine building.

The draft plan envisages a substantially faster pace of development for machine building and its priority spheres—machine-tool building, instrument building, and the electronic and electrical equipment industries. This is correct, since these are the base sectors of machine building. We are persistently advancing as regards the renewal of machine building output. While only just over 3 percent of machines were removed from production in 1985, this figure is planned to rise to almost 11 percent in 1989. This is the key to its modernization. But it is not only a matter of the quantity of machines being renewed, it is also a matter of their quality and technical standards, which are directly dependent on the degree of automation and application of computers.

Esteemed Comrade Deputies! Next after machine building, we must give preference to computer technology. There have been substantial positive changes as regards the application of information technology and automation in production. But the highest labor productivity growth in the world today results from the utilization of electronic and computer technology adapted for machines, equipment, instruments, and so on. We need to sharply increase labor productivity in all spheres of the national economy, and this really requires the country's computerization, which should be perceived as the paramount problem. The party and the government have made a series of major decisions in this connection. In all likelihood, however, this problem will still have to be addressed in the future because the present scale of the development of computerization and information technology in our country does not accord with the pace of the development of industry and the national economy as a whole.

The ministries producing computer equipment must right away accelerate their preparations for transition to new generations of computers. Our Soviet developments are also being implemented.

The manufacture of modern microprocessors is seriously lagging behind in our country and they are permanently in short supply. This has already been said. But what are microprocessors today? They are the most important element in the technical standard of machines and equipment. Now it is impossible to sell a machine in the world market, it is impossible to sell any device, unless it has microprocessor technology. Therefore, in solving this question, we are simultaneously solving the question of exports.

The plan envisages the attainment of important frontiers in the power industry, the chemical industry, and the construction industry. Major steps are planned in the development of medicine. This is good. Nevertheless, while appreciating the plan for the development of all this, we do notice some very difficult and painful aspects. Let me now turn to ecology. In his speech in Krasnoyarsk Kray Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev once again drew serious attention to the solution of the most acute ecological problems in the country in general and in Krasnoyarsk Kray in particular. And even though the plan takes account of some good headway—the manufacture of new-generation motor vehicles which cause minimal atmospheric pollution, the development of fundamentally new equipment for the purification of effluents, and others—this is only a beginning. Ecology needs the most serious attention from the whole of society. Comrade Yu.D. Maslyukov's report correctly emphasized that the solution of ecological problems is linked with the development of new waste-free technologies operating on the closed-circuit principle. Science and industry together must seriously pool their efforts and find the best way out. The earlier we do this, the sooner we will start correctly solving the task of ecological protection.

Comrades! Attaching paramount importance to ecology problems, the USSR Academy of Sciences intends to most thoroughly discuss them at its general meeting next December.

As before, crucial attention is focused on the work of intersector science and technology complexes. Our opponents in the West, when speaking of the development of Soviet science, mainly look at two components. The first is fundamental research; the second is the intersector science and technology complexes as new forms for organization of science. It was said in Comrade Yu.D. Maslyukov's report that there have been positive changes. There was mention of the "Scientific Instrument" Intersector Science and Technology Complex. I could also mention the "Welding" and "Catalysts" Intersector Science and Technology Complexes. They have produced results of major scientific and practical importance. In essence, we are discovering methods which will help us to advance along the priority avenues of scientific and technical progress.

For example, at the time the "Machining" Intersector Science and Technology Complex was set up, only 8 of its 50 basic types of equipment for ore dressing combines met world standards in terms of their technical specification, but within quite a short time the intersector science and technology complex achieved world technical standards for 33 types of series-produced equipment.

Comrades! The intersector science and technology complexes are a new form for the organization of science and production in the main priority spheres. And even though the path of their formation was not easy, most of them are beginning to have a steadily growing effect on the production of high-technology equipment in our country. As before, however, the greatest difficulties here are linked with interdepartmental barriers, and the demolition of these barriers requires a bold quest and experimentation.

The USSR Academy of Sciences believes that the time has come to give these complexes extradepartmental status, along the lines of the state enterprises set up in Moscow and Leningrad, as mentioned in the report today.

State orders have been formulated in the most important spheres of the development of science and technology in the 1989 plan. You know that much has been said about state orders. But now we have reached some kind of level of understanding of state orders. We would like to specially mention as a most important development the fact that this year state orders will be placed on a competitive basis.

Competitiveness is our future life, and it is necessary to carefully study and support everything that is based on competition. Now we have no alternative to the market, and competition is therefore the means enabling us to compare different projects.

Comrades, in line with the 19th all-union party conference conclusions on the faster development of the country's scientific potential, as Comrade B.I. Gostev said in his report, appropriations for the financing of science via the state budget have been substantially increased for 1989. This is the first time that there has been such a significant increase in financial resources for the development of science.

Comrades! The plan reflects virtually all the decisions and all the questions on which our country is working. They were well covered in the reports by Comrades Yu.D. Maslyukov and B.I. Gostev. Many plan questions will be solved along the new paths of economic reform. This, we believe, will reveal new reserves which must be spotted in the general trends.

The USSR Academy of Sciences believes that the government has prepared a thoroughly worked out draft State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1989, and that it can be approved by the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Thank you for your attention.

Council of Ministers 'Information Department'

Journal Also Established

PM0111153788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Oct 88 Second Edition p 6

[N. Mishina article under the "Details" rubric: "Council of Ministers and Glasnost"—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] As reported in yesterday's issue, an Information Department has been set up at the USSR Council of Ministers. Our correspondent visited the department and reports on certain details of its work.

One of the department's main tasks is to expand glasnost in the activity of the Council of Ministers, its subunits, and its central economic organs in the interests of accelerating and deepening the economic reform, creating a new economic mechanism, and further democratizing society's life.

The first practical steps have been taken to show the public what specific problems the government is tackling and to lift the traditional veil over the way in which state decisions are made. The number of such articles in the press and on radio and television has increased recently. Thus, literally graphic examples were shown by Central Television, which covered several sessions of the Council of Ministers and its Presidium. If you recall, the discussion was on the system for taxing cooperatives and cooperative members, legislative guarantees for output quality, and mass production of equipment for the agro-industrial complex' processing industry. At the Council of Ministers' request, transmissions of "Searchlight on Restructuring" were broadcast so as to attract viewers' attention to the last of the aforementioned problems—which is vitally important for us—and at the same time to provide a fuller picture of public opinion in this regard and take it into account when drawing up resolutions. In short, the television broadcasts, journalists' meetings with the heads of leading ministries and departments (the first such briefing with Yu.D. Maslyukov, chairman of the USSR Gosplan, and B.I. Gostev, USSR finance minister, will be held 1 November), and the sociological research which the Information Department intend to use in its future work are needed to establish meaningful, effective, and direct contacts and feedback between state administrative organs and the public.

Apart from the above, it is planned to set up yet another communications channel—the PRAVITELSTVENNYY VESTNIK. This newspaper will appear from January 1989 onward. It will be similar in format to the well-known weekly ZA RUBEZHOM. Incidentally, the VESTNIK will also become a weekly in 1990—in 1989 it will publish fortnightly.

"How do you see VESTNIK's content?" we asked the department staffers preparing the new publication. The reply was: We would like to stress that our VESTNIK will not be a dry summary of resolutions, decisions, and protocols. No, we intend to produce a full-fledged, combative newspaper with discussions and interviews contrasting various opinions. We hope to avoid boring items. VESTNIK will feature reports on government sessions, studies on problems, articles from the archives, letters, and responses to criticism in the newspapers and on radio and television.

We report that subscription for organizations, institutions, enterprises, and citizens will be open 1 through 30 November. The price for the year is R3.90. The index number is 50105. PRAVITELSTVENNYY VESTNIK will also be sold retail.

Voznesenskiy Named Chief

LD2710135688 Moscow TASS in English 1336 GMT 27 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 27 TASS—The aim of the newly established Information Department of the USSR Council of Ministers is to provide extensive information on the Soviet Government's activity, newsmen learned at a briefing in Moscow today.

Lev Voznesenskiy, appointed the department's head, described the tasks of the new body at the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Press Centre.

A graduate of the Moscow University School of Economics, Voznesenskiy was a faculty member of this educational establishment for several years and then worked on the staff of the journal KOMMUNIST and at the propaganda department of the Communist Party Central Committee.

Voznesenskiy became a political news analyst with Soviet television, specialising in domestic policy issues, in 1974.

He is the author of first live television programmes, involving dialogues between viewers and ministers and prominent scientists on acute social and economical issues of the perestroyka policy.

The 62-year-old journalist has written more than 200 research papers on political economy, problems of democracy and glasnost.

Role, Functions Defined

LD2710145988 Moscow TASS in English 1412 GMT 27 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 27 TASS—Giving more light to the operation of top state bodies is the chief task of the Information Department set up at the USSR Council of Ministers, the head of this press service, Lev Voznesenskiy, told a briefing at the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Press Centre here today.

The new press service would not only help disseminate more detailed information about the Soviet Government's activity, but would also enable the Council of Ministers to study public opinion on major economic and social issues.

There are plans to arrange appearances by government members, including the chairman of the Council of Ministers and his deputies, leading economic scientists and managers.

Regular briefings and news conferences will be held for Soviet and foreign correspondents at which speakers will describe radical changes taking place in all spheres of Soviet society.

So far, briefings will be held once in two weeks, but meetings with the press can be arranged at shorter notice on specific occasions.

Television coverage of sessions of the Council of Ministers and other government bodies will be continued.

Three programmes of this kind shown on Soviet television for the first time in its history had evoked broad response from the viewers, Voznesenskiy pointed out.

The Information Department will start the publication of a government gazette from the beginning of the next year. Apart from official reports, the gazette will carry materials for discussion, reviews of statistics and sociological surveys, analyse newspaper articles and readers' letters.

The official publication of the sOviet Government will devote space to government archives in order to assess the experience of state and economic construction in the Soviet Union.

"We hope that our gazette will be interesting not only to government officials, but also to broad sections of the general readership," Voznesenskiy said.

First Briefing Held 1 Nov

LD0111131388 Moscow TASS in English 1234 GMT 1 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 1 TASS—The Information Department of the USSR Council of Ministers held its first briefing in the Soviet capital today.

The new body has been set up in keeping with the policy of glasnost, of greater openness, to provide more extensive information about the Soviet Government's activity to Soviet and foreign newsmen.

The first meeting with the press, attended by Yuriy Maslyukov, chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee, and Boris Gostev, finance minister, dealt with the results of the national parliament's session on October 27-28.

The session adopted the country's plan and budget for the next year.

Describing the documents, the government officials stressed the enhanced social orientation of the Soviet economy. More than two-thirds of state expenditures will go direct to raising living standards.

For the first time in Soviet history, production growth rates in consumer industry will be much higher than those in the manufacture of means of production—seven against three per cent.

The Soviet parliament discussed for the first time the problem of the budget deficit. Naturally, many questions put by journalists were related to this problem.

The finance minister described that the deficit first emerged in the late 1970s and only today, in conditions of perestroyka, or restructuring, its causes and ways of overcoming were being discussed openly.

The 1989 budget deficit is estimated at 35 billion roubles (7 per cent of the budget and about 4 per cent of the gross national product).

The government has outlined top-priority measures to find new sources of revenue and introduce austere economy regulations in spending state money. There are no plans to diminish the deficit by raising retail prices or expanding the sale of alcoholic drinks.

The minister named among the ways to offset the deficit the transformation of loss-making enterprises (there are some 25,000 such enterprises in the country) into profit-making ones, decreasing unjustified spending and cutting the bureaucracy (last year the measure affected 600,000 state employees). It is also planned to issue securities, shares and bonds.

The deficit was gradually decreasing, Gostev said. Money to balance the budget was being borrowed from the state bank of the USSR, foreign capital was not being used.

Asked about inflation in the Soviet Union, the government officials replied that the nature of that phenomenon was somewhat different than in Western countries.

What takes place is not the growth of prices of specific goods, but the disappearance of inexpensive items from the list of goods.

Inflation is engendered by the faster growth of pay compared to labour productivity.

In the assessment of Maslyukov, the annual level of inflation in the Soviet Union varies from 0.9 to 1.5 per cent on various commodities.

Both officials believe that no trend towards its reduction was being observed so far. Among the steps undertaken in the Soviet Union to eliminate that phenomenon is bringing the growth of pay in correspondence with labour productivity and stimulating the production of inexpensive items by increasing state subsidies.

A decision has already been taken to increase subsidies to enterprises turning out goods for children. A similar measure is being planned with regard to commodities for senior citizens.

The Information Department of the USSR Council of Ministers will hold briefings on a regular basis. So far, they will be held twice a month.

Medvedev Addresses Publishing Affairs Officials

PM0111103388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Oct 88 Second Edition p2

[TASS report: "Cadre Training Course"]

[Text] A training course for the chairmen of republic committees; chiefs of kray and oblast administrations for the affairs of publishing houses, printing plants, and the book trade; directors (chief editors) of central, republic, and oblast publishing houses; and first deputy chairmen of the republic boards of the All-Union Voluntary Society of Bibliophiles has come to a close in the CPSU Central Committee Social Sciences Academy Institute for Enhancing the Qualifications of Leading Party, Soviet, and Ideological Cadres.

The students were addressed by V.A. Medvedev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

A.S. Kapto, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Ideology Department, took part in summing up the results of the training course.

Commentator Burlatskiy Interviewed on Changes

PM0111165088 Milan L'UNITA in Italian 30 Oct 88 p 2

[Sergio Sergi report on undated question-and-answer session with LITERATURNAYA GAZETA Commentator Fedor Burlatskiy at the Italian Communist Party Foreign Policy Studies Center in Rome: "Doorway to the West"]

[Text] Rome—How strong is Mikhail Gorbachev? Has he really eliminated all resistance to restructuring? In a room at the Foreign Policy Studies Center a rain of questions fell on Fedor Burlatskiy, one of the brains behind the Soviet new course, shrewd commentator for LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, and enthusiastic supporter of the reforms in the USSR. Showing no sign of reluctance, he came out with the following minor, but significant, disclosure: "This summer," he said, "when Yegor Ligachev delivered a questionable foreign policy speech the U.S. ambassador in Moscow, Jack Matlock, rushed to Shevardnadze and asked him point-blank: Pardon me, Foreign Minister, but who am I to believe—Ligachev or Gorbachev? Shevardnadze calmly replied: You can carry on believing in Gorbachev's line. Have no fear."

Fedor Burlatskiy is an outstanding observer of the latest events within the Soviet leadership. A former adviser to Khrushchev and a member of Gorbachev's party on visits to the United States, Geneva, and Reykjavik, he is also a penetrating historical researcher. He is about to have published in NOVYY MIR a weighty essay under the eloquent headline: "After Stalin." He smilingly describes himself as a "zealot of restructuring" and is sometimes uncompromising on the subject of the country's situation. He is of course in the forefront of those who support the onerous tasks imposed by what he calls the "definite turning point" of the 27th congress.

[Question] So have the opponents been defeated and the "curbing forces" eliminated?

[Burlatskiy] The September plenum marked Gorbachev's triumph. It was a success comparable to that of the 27th congress.

[Question] Did Gorbachev simply win or, as it seemed to some people, did he seek an overkill? Does an excessive victory not conceal certain weaknesses?

[Burlatskiy] You are never happy. Previously everyone said: Can this Ligachev really be so powerful? Now everyone is saying: Can Gorbachev really be so strong...?

[Question] What is the real situation?

[Burlatskiy] To carry out structural reforms there must be a strong majority—especially in order to overcome the resistance of 18 million bureaucrats....

[Question] Have Soviet citizens realized the need for restructuring? Do they support the renewal effort?

[Burlatskiy] You see, Khrushchev tried to implement the democratization of society from the top. Gorbachev, on the other hand, is trying to proceed from a very broad base, despite the opposition of many party officials. It is also true that ours is still a conservative and passive society with a strongly patriarchal and authoritarian political and cultural character.

[Question] What do the workers and the working class think of the change of course?

[Burlatskiy] There are no opinion polls in our country. However, if we were to visit a factory and ask what people think, we would form the following picture: One-third would agree with the reforms—mainly young people acquainted with new Western technologies and willing to retrain and work more efficiently. Another third would be definitely opposed—old party cadres no longer able to retrain. Among them we would also find many alcoholics, really a lot: decadent elements willing to leave their families destitute. Last, another third would adopt a wait-and-see attitude and be undecided between one position or the other. Winning them over depends on how quickly the economic reforms proceed—first and foremost in agriculture.

[Question] It is not a reassuring picture....

[Burlatskiy] True, ours is mainly a conservative society. However, I now see no possibility of turning back—to the Brezhnev years, I mean. A Stalinist alternative is inconceivable now; there can be no collapse of the new political thinking.

[Question] How did the change of course come about?

[Burlatskiy] It was impossible to continue with the crazy race for hegemony with the United States: They would issue a challenge and we would respond tit for tat. This all caused us to consume vast resources and to sacrifice many branches of scientific progress. Consequently we are as much as 25 years behind the developed countries in technology.

[Question] So what is the "new thinking"?

[Burlatskiy] It stems from the assumption that mankind's interests are superior to class interests. This does not mean, however, that the arguments on this subject are over in the USSR. The ideological struggle goes on. The train must be shifted onto a new track; it is not easy but the foundations have been laid.

[Question] When will price reform be tackled?

[Burlatskiy] All the reforms will be carried out. The question is when and how. The question how is the subject of a very harsh battle. Economic restructuring is taking its first steps and price reform is our most difficult problem. Even the nationalities problem is not as complex as that of prices. It is not only an economic but also a social problem....

[Question] Can you explain this?

[Burlatskiy] That is easy: Price reform also entails increasing the prices of certain essential products that are currently very low. This applies to both milk and bread, for instance. However, is it right to deal a blow to 40 million pensioners whose allowances are already small?

[Question] What kind of socialism are you trying to establish?

[Burlatskiy] Ours is a quest for a new model of socialism—democratic and human—based on the principles of both a planned and a market economy and on high living standards that will guarantee human rights. To build this kind of socialism our society must be opened up to the modern world. It is said that Peter I opened a window onto the West, that Stalin nailed it shut, and that Khrushchev opened a small door. Gorbachev not only intends to open the front door but also wants Soviet society to be part of modern society.

[Question] How do you handle relations with the other East European countries at present?

[Burlatskiy] In the past we have given so much bad advice that we are now refraining from giving any more. Among those countries there are those who support restructuring and those who are mistrustful. The USSR is working for collective and bilateral cooperation among countries of both East and West.

[Question] What is your opinion of a new "Marshall Plan"?

[Burlatskiy] These are unpleasant memories. We associate it with Europe's Americanization. We intend, rather, to proceed to the essence of the matter. Relations between the USSR and the European countries are important building blocks in the kind of cooperation that we want. Of course, as the Chinese say, it is difficult to forecast anything, especially the future. Many things in the world will depend on the change in East-West relations.

[Question] Can Italy do anything for restructuring?

[Burlatskiy] It can do a great deal. Italy and the other European countries can help overcome Soviet bureaucratism. We hope that the political swing will stimulate a new policy in the West. Sometimes, however, I see that it is precisely the West that is pursuing a "Brezhnevian" policy. We, however, have moved on.

Politburo Commission Examines Repression Case
PM0211104988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
2 Nov 88 Second Edition p 1

[Text] At the CPSU Central Committee Politburo commission for the additional study of materials related to the repressions that took place in the period of the thirties, forties, and beginning of the fifties: At its latest session, the commission heard and discussed information from the USSR Procuracy, the USSR Supreme Court, and the Marxism-Leninism Insitute of the CPSU Central Committee on the results of examining materials related to the activity and subsequent persecution of certain individuals who were in the "Workers' Opposition."

Headed by Shlyapnikov, Medvedev, and others, the "Workers' Opposition" arose in 1921, during trade union debates. The program of the "Workers' Opposition" was rejected by the 10th congress of the Russian Communist Party—Bolsheviks as lacking in theoretical grounding and being politically harmful. At the same time, on a proposal by Vladimir Ilich Lenin, who noted the fairness of some of the "Workers' Opposition's" demands, its main leaders, Shlyapnikov included, were at the same party congress elected to the Russian Communist Party—Bolsheviks Central Committee. However, in the second half of the twenties, former active members of this opposition were subjected to persecution, up to and including exile. Their names were groundlessly linked to the so-called Baku and Omsk groups of the workers' opposition. The existence of these groups and the accusations brought against them of anti-Soviet, factional actions were not confirmed upon subsequent verification.

In 1935, a case entitled "The Moscow Counterrevolutionary Organization—the 'Workers' Opposition' Group" was fabricated. In March and April 1935 a special conference on this "case" under the USSR People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs prosecuted Shlyapnikov, Medvedev, Maslennikov, Bruno, Vichinskiy, Demidov, Ivanov, Mikhaylov, Nikolayenko, M.I. Prokopenko, Serebrennikov, Tarasov, O. Kh. Prokopenko, Tarasova, and Tikhomirov, handing down different sentences.

In 1937, Shlyapnikov and Medvedev were sentenced by the Military Collegium of the USSR Supreme Court to the supreme penalty—execution—for again fabricated accusations of preparing acts of terrorism against the leaders of the party and the Soviet Government.

Verification has shown that the people cited were repressed without any justification. At a protest from the USSR General Procurator, the Military Collegium of the USSR Supreme Court on 1 September 1988 revoked the resolution of the special conference under the USSR People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs with regard to Demidov, Ivanov, Tarasov, Serebrennikov, and Tarasova, and closed the criminal case for lack of a corpus delicti in their actions. Shlyapnikov, Medvedev, Maslennikov, Bruno, Vichinskiy, Mikhaylov, Nikolayenko, M.I. Prokopenko, O.Kh. Prokopenko, and Tikomirov were rehabilitated by the courts earlier on all the accusations they faced.

The judicial bodies' decisions to rehabilitate individuals in the "Moscow Counterrevolutionary Organization—the 'Workers' Opposition' Group" "case" were made in strict accordance with the requirements of socialist legality. Information from the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee has been noted to the effect that the question of the party membership of those cited is being considered. The decisions will be reported in the press. The commission of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo is continuing its work.

Memorial to Stalin Victims Planned in Georgia
PM2810133188 Moscow TRUD in Russian
21 Oct 88 p 4

[M. Aydinov dispatch: "To the Victims of Stalin's Repressions"]

[Text] Tbilisi—A symbolic cross forming the entrance to a memorial complex will stand on Mtatsmind, the "Holy Mount" above Tbilisi. It will be crowned with a dried-up but still living tree with a fresh shoot and an eternal spring [rodnik bessmertiya]. It will also incorporate a pit, like the pits in which the shot victims fell, a black grille, a chain, and a blue ray of light aimed high up in the sky and shining through a golden crown of thorns.... This is the appearance of a model of a memorial to the victims of Stalin's repressions produced by sculptor D. Mikatadze and architect R. Beridze.

"I got the idea back in 1981," Georgian SSR People's Artist Dmitriy Mikatadze, professor at the Tbilisi Academy of Arts, recalls. "Innocent people by the thousands suffered in Georgia, as elsewhere, during the Stalin years. My own family was not spared by the calamity. It cannot be denied that there was not a single family in the republic that did not suffer from the illegalities...."

The sculptor spent several years working on the memorial project with the architect. In this time they produced four models before arriving at a satisfactory solution.

The memorial will be erected with funds donated by the public under the auspices of the Georgian Culture Foundation.

Katusev Comments on Trial of Churbanov, Others
PM0211133188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
2 Nov 88 Second Edition p 6

[Interview with A.F. Katusev, USSR deputy prosecutor general, by correspondent G. Ovcharenko: "At the USSR Prosecutor's Office. The Logic of the Law Is Inexorable"; date, place of interview not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Many readers have recently asked PRAVDA to describe how the trial of Yu. Churbanov and other senior

staffers in internal affairs organs is going. Our correspondent asked A.F. Katusev, USSR deputy prosecutor general, these and other questions from readers.

[Katusev] As the press has already reported, the criminal case regarding Churbanov and others has been referred to the USSR Supreme Court Military Collegium for examination. The hearing of the case continues. I think that when it is over the mass media will talk about the judgment.

[Ovcharenko] As far as I know, the trial of internal affairs organ staffers can be said to be just one chapter in a book on corruption and bribery in Uzbekistan. Readers ask whether investigators are continuing their work in the republic and what news the prosecutor's office can report regarding this major case.

[Katusev] The case against Churbanov is indeed one of many cases regarding the bribery that once flourished in Uzbekistan. Some people against whom criminal proceedings were instituted have already been convicted. The preliminary investigation into other people who held senior official positions is at the finishing stage. The question of referring these cases for trial will be decided in accordance with the law. I can add that the investigation group is continuing intense work to investigate crimes in the region. I. Usmankhodzhayev, former first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee; A. Salimov, former chairman of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; and I. Dzhabbarov and N. Radzhabov, first secretaries of Bukhara and Samarkand party obkoms, were recently arrested.

[Ovcharenko] Incidentally, Aleksandr Filippovich, some readers think that the newspaper is violating the principle of presumption of innocence by naming people who have been arrested before the trial. In your opinion, how justified is this assertion?

[Katusev] Presumption of innocence is a basic principle of preliminary investigation and all judicial proceedings. According to the USSR Constitution, no one can be deemed guilty of committing a crime or punished under criminal law other than by a court verdict and in accordance with the law. This demand is binding for everyone, including journalists. However, in this case we did not infringe the law by naming the people who had been arrested since we did not decide beforehand the question of their guilt. The court will decide whether they are guilty or not. However, given sufficient evidence, the law compels investigators to charge particular people with committing a crime. After assessing the evidence in accordance with the law and on the basis of their own personal belief founded on a comprehensive, full, and objective examination of all the facts of the case, the investigators charged Usmankhodzhayev, Salimov, Dzhabbarov, and Radzhabov with taking bribes.

[Ovcharenko] The readers are probably interested in the details of what the arrestees did and the course of the investigation. What can you tell them?

[Katusev] This is an extremely ticklish question. We have recently been asked by certain citizens and even organization collectives to disclose details of a particular case in process. When we personnel of law-enforcement organs refuse such requests we are called suppressors of glasnost. But that's not so. We are in favor of glasnost, but by no means to the detriment of objectivity and legality. The point is that the disclosure of information from the preliminary investigation can have a harmful effect on the investigation of the case and make it possible to reveal the direction the investigation is taking. Sometimes premature publication of information from the investigation may also harm the defendant, especially when sensational articles appear that distort the essence of the case and form incorrect public opinion. Preliminary investigation materials can be made public only with the permission of the investigator or the prosecutor and in such amounts as they deem possible. Finally, I can tell you for your information that the law provides for criminal liability for violating the confidentiality of an investigation. As a prosecutor I believe that it is inadvisable to disclose any details regarding the case against Usmankhodzhayev and the others today.

[Ovcharenko] Finally, one last question which the readers have not yet asked but which is easy to foresee. The point is that an article entitled "Corruption" recently appeared in IZVESTIYA claiming that Ya. Nasriddinova, former chairman of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, took bribes, but that lofty patrons during the years of stagnation enabled her to avoid criminal responsibility....

[Katusev] I can only say that the USSR Prosecutor's Office decided long before the IZVESTIYA article to resume the investigation, during which all the facts of this case will be checked.

[Ovcharenko] Thank you for the conversation. I think that it has once again convinced us of the inevitability of punishment for crime.

Readers Comment on Brezhnev 'Family Portrait'
PM0111150288 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 43, 23 Oct 88 p 2

[Aleksandr Vasinskiy roundup of readers' letters: "A Family Portrait. 'When Grandfather Was No Longer.' What Do Readers Think About This Letter to 'MN' from Brezhnev's Grandson?"]

[Text] I remember the crowds gathered around the MOSCOW NEWS stands in Pushkinskaya Square, reading a fresh issue (No 38) of the paper. Page 10 seemed especially popular, around it there seemed to be a thrombus of concentrated public curiosity—people were straining their necks, stepping on tip-toe and pushing

each other aside. A sensation? It was precisely the page with the letter by Andrey Brezhnev and the photo, taken at a cottage in Yalta, of a smiling grandfather in a swimming pool with his grandson and great-granddaughter. Someone, as I remember, composed a caption for the photo: "All the best for the children." There were other comments, too.

In our press we have no high society news. We are not supposed to be interested in the private life of our famous people, how they spend their leisure time, their domestic habits and so on, because this diverts the public from the really up-to-date problems. Interest in the other side of our leaders' lives is not regarded as respectable interest. BUT THEN, WHY SHOULD WE KEEP SECRET FROM OUR PUBLIC WHAT THE RANK-AND-FILE VOTERS, TV WATCHERS, FINANCIAL INSPECTORS, DEPUTIES, MEMBERS OF VARIOUS COMMISSIONS, ETC., KNOW ABOUT THEIR PRESIDENTS IN OTHER CIVILIZED COUNTRIES? Where there is no information, legends are born, like the one about how many cars, and of which model, there were in the personal garage of car-lover Leonid Brezhnev.

So, the interest in Andrey Brezhnev's letter was respectable enough, stemming from A LEGITIMATE NEED TO SATISFY HUNGER FOR INFORMATION (THE SPREADING OF RUMOURS IS NOT TO BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT).

Most people who commented on the letter approved its publication—because of the discussion it has given rise to. We have already mentioned one theme—making glasnost applicable "there" too. Viktor Matveyev, deputy director of the Institute of Scientific Information on Social Sciences of the USSR Academy of Sciences, who wrote to us, presents some persuasive arguments in its favour: "Let us destroy one more citadel on the road to glasnost. I'm not speaking about peeking through keyholes, we simply need to know more about those to whom so much is entrusted. This will also serve as a warning to those who try to use their posts as protection."

There is much less unanimity in the evaluation of Andrey Brezhnev's letter. Still, I side with those who agree with its publication. To keep silent would have been unprincipled from all points of view. I agree with Vladimir Balchikov, from Kaluga, who, like Andrey Brezhnev, graduated from the Institute of International Relations in Moscow and now works for Znamya, a regional paper. He writes: "You see, you can well understand Andrey when he writes about those who cultivate a hatred for the children and grandchildren of the people who have left the historical stage. There is still too much malice and envy in our people."

But opinions vary, IT WOULD BE UNFAIR TO SHIFT THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR ALL THAT HAD BEEN ERECTED BY THE GRANDFATHER—THE BUILDER OF STAGNATION—ONTO THE GRANDSON. I'd take into account the system of values under which the author lived, when judging his "weaknesses". To be honest, I had to keep myself in check when reading his letter, I wanted to be objective. Who knows how the people now writing angrily about his arrogance and Mercedes car would have behaved themselves in his place? Some moralizers and accusers are virtuous only because their piety was never tempted. It would be useful for Andrey himself to read extracts from the letters in which you can feel the alarm and the sincere desire to open his eyes to the idea of what it means "to be like everyone else". Or, didn't he understand that his letter would be taken as more than simple information, and would come under the fire of different emotions? Didn't he realize that his life, described by him, would be compared not with the life of grandsons of artistic celebrities, and not even with the life of grandsons of marshals, but—such is psychology—with the life of rank-and-file readers, with the life of the grandfathers who didn't see their grandsons come back from Afghanistan, with the life of tens of millions of people, who lived in the years of his grandfather's rule on a wage of 100-150 roubles a month? How as it for them to read Andrey's pitiful lines about his mother washing and doing the shopping herself.

Many people wrote about the "point of departure". Here is Andrey Altov, a reader from Orenburg: What Andrey Brezhnev writes about the trials of his family is a dream for many people. He thinks that his own level ('to live like everybody') is a generally acceptable standard. It would probably be interesting for him to know that nearly all mothers do the shopping themselves, and then, not at the shops for the wives of first vice-ministers. He should know that in many families children are often sent shopping because their mothers, beset by house chores, simply don't have time. If he knew anything about life he'd realize that it isn't enough to be a student at an ordinary school to be admitted to the Institute of International Relations, with that, sometimes, those with 'D's' get in. He'd also realize that not all institute students can go to Britain or become members of International building teams in Bulgaria. He must know that not all students are given work at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He must also know that not every Soviet student can be stopped by a traffic cop, because most, not having a Mercedes nor even enough money, by the age of 20, to buy a bike, associate mostly with public transport controllers."

Vladimir Balchikov, the reader from Kaluga, mentioned above, writes: "The letter had the reverse effect. Why did he have to stress: 'I can honestly say that I have never tried to profit by the fact that I was a grandson of the General Secretary, nor have I abused this fact?' And why try to profit, say, when going to the Institute of International Relations when the surname worked automatically? I also graduated from this Institute, but for some reason as a student I didn't go abroad (others did) and, when I graduated, was sent not to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs but to a district newspaper in Siberia."

Many people were unpleasantly jarred that Andrey had enough good words for all his relations, but that he condemned his "uncontrollable" Aunt Galya, Leonid Brezhnev's daughter. No one forced Andrey to do this. And why are the words "there were no laws, either for her or her husband" so full of righteous indignation? Harsh laws were found in their time for many dissidents. But laws didn't exist for Rashidovs, Medunovs and others like them. And you weren't allowed to speak about it. OH, IF ONLY THE MASS MEDIA HAD A FRACTION OF AUNT GALYA'S "UNCONTROLLABILITY" AT THE TIME OF SO-CALLED STAGNATION!

So, our talk cannot go beyond Andrey Brezhnev's letter, the same as it cannot circumvent the time connected with the name of his grandfather? Of course, the defence of his grandfather gives him honour as a grandson, but his duty as a citizen has urged him to look on that time not only from his point of view. And it was a time of Pharisaism, when it was possible to declare that the stage of developed society had come—even before the Food Programme had been fulfilled. Alas, it was a time of reform that didn't reform anything. It was a time when it was possible to pass for a "loyal Leninist" and at the same time decorate one's own uniform with endless new stars until it began to resemble Pokryshkin's fighter plane. And the highest literary awards for books he didn't write? What do we call that?

I understand: Everybody has weaknesses. BUT DEMOCRACY EXISTS PRECISELY SO TAHT THE PERSONAL WEAKNESSES OF LEADERS DO NOT BECOME THE WEAKNESSES OF THE STATE. It took perestroyka to turn everything the right way up. Brezhnev and his forerunners had "provoked' perestroyka, as it were—according to the principle of "antithesis". To a certain extent, we owe all this to the idea of limiting time in office, declared at the 19th party conference.

Today's plans for a law-governed state are also the result of the stagnation period. No one speaks about egalitarianism in owning things. BUT EQUALITY BEFORE THE LAW IS NOT EGALITARIANISM BUT THE VERY FIRST POSTULATE OF DEMOCRACY. And the main thing now is to secure it.

The stagnation period brought many things to their high point, and forced us to reconsider them. You can't choose your grandfather—that's understandable. But if somebody's grandfather is a state figure, then he must be chosen through a strict democratic procedure. The reform of the political system has also been "urged" by the stagnation period—according to the rules of opposites.

As for the story of how rock-musicians played and danced on a huge portrait of Brezhnev, that is, of course, unpardonable. Reader V. Matveyev is right: "Repentance demands other, more responsible actions and not the heating up of base instincts. Whether we like it or not, Leonid Brezhnev is a part of our history and therefore, of ourselves. As for Andrey's fate, it will not depend on the decision of those who speak about their earnest support of perestroyka, and at the same time who crush the former 'noblemen' without mercy and persecute their families." Another reader adds: "Whether Andrey's life will be good or bad depends entirely on him—on his moral qualities, and what he does."

And we, ending this review, will say thanks to the readers for their comments, and to Andrey Brezhnev, for his letter which helps expand the field of glasnost, providing us with a glimpse not only at his own family past.

Lithuania Makes 1 Nov Official Holiday

PM0211132988 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 2 Nov 88 p 4

[Own correspondent V. Zarovskiy report: "Day of Commemoration"]

[Text] Lithuanian SSR—Yesterday was a holiday in Lithuania. Lithuanians have always considered the first day of November to be the day when they remember their dead. They would visit the graves of friends and relatives and tidy up the cemeteries. Many leaders showed an understanding attitude to these traditions, let people off work, and helped with material. But production was not the only thing to suffer—the commemoration did too. Recently there have been increasingly strong demands to make this day a holiday. So, considering the wishes of the population, the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers transferred the holiday from Saturday, 29 October, to Tuesday, 1 November.

Scandinavian Journalists Interview Brazauskas

LD2710122388 Vilnius in Lithuanian to North America 0100 GMT 26 Oct 88

[Summary] Algirdas Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, gave an interview to television journalists from Norway, Finland, and Sweden who were covering the Sajudis conference.

During the interview Algirdas Brazauskas expressed his full support for Sajudis and pointed out that this popular movement has emerged as a result of restructuring and the party's reform program.

The issue of expanded ties between Lithuania and the Scandinavian countries were also discussed, because now there will be greater opportunities for expanded ties.

'Realistic' Lithuanian Editor on Independence

LD2710143288 Vilnius TIESA in Lithuanian 16 Oct 88 p 2

[Interview with GIMTASIS KRASTAS chief editor Algimantas Cekuolis while on a visit to the United States, by Voice of America's Romas Sakadolskis: "Sajudis—Objectives and Ways to Achieve Them"; interview originally broadcast on Voice of America; abridged for publication by Cekuolis]

[Excerpts] A. Cekuolis: You said that maximalists demand independence for Lithuania, whereas we speak about sovereignty within the composition of the Soviet Union. That is absolutely correct. I would like to ask the maximalists—I am not talking now about my personal views on this issue—I would like to ask maximalists just one question, which consists of only one word and that is: "How?" How are they going to achieve this?

After the 1975 Helsinki Agreement, it was declared that borders which were established in Europe after World War II cannot be altered. Not once was I given an answer to this question.

R. Sakadolskis: It seems that what was stated was that borders cannot be altered by violence.

A. Cekuolis: Well, alright. But this amounts to the same thing.

R. Sakadolskis: Yes and no. At that time, when President Gerald Ford signed the Helsinki Act, he published a presidential declaration indicating that this did not mean that the United States had changed its view on the incorporation of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia into the Soviet Union.

A. Cekuolis: Very well, but now I would still like to ask President Ford, and others who repeatedly maintain this, the same question: "How?" And this is not merely a rhetorical question. Altering borders in Europe is the same as opening Pandora's box; it means opening a can of worms. This means Transylvania, where Hungarians are the majority; it means Polish Silesia, Pomerania and the Danzig region. Finally it means the Klaipeda region; it means the Vilnius region; you name it. It means Macedonia, actually almost all of Europe.

R. Sakadolskis: In other words you stand for "pax Sovietica"

A. Cekuolis: Don't put words into my mouth which I didn't say. [passage omitted] It is not my signature under the Helsinki Act, it is President Ford's and 35 other European countries', the United States and Canada. Why should this be called "Pax Sovietica?"

R. Sakadolskis: [passage omitted] In brief, you maintain the opinion that currently there is no question of absolute independence?

A. Cekuolis: The only thing I maintain is political realism. I am interested in what is realistic. I do not expect manna to start falling from heaven [Passage omitted]

'Estonian Green Movement' Urges Saul Ouster

PM0111175788 Tallinn NOORTE HAAL in Estonian 22 Oct 88 p 3

[Unattributed "Announcement of the Board of the Estonian Green Movement"]

[Text] The meeting of the board of the Estonian Green Movement [ERL] discussed how resolution No 1 has been fulfilled [demand for resignation of Estonian Council of Ministers Chairman B. Saul]. Taking into consideration the political situation which has now developed in Estonia and also in connection with a session of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet taking place in December, which makes the ouster of B. Saul, chairman of the Council of Ministers, legally impossible within the deadline demanded by the Greens, the board of the ERL decided on the following in respect to the measures mentioned in the announcement of the Green Agency, published in the 13 October issue of EDAST [Tartu-published newspaper]:

1. Not to organize a mass meeting in front of the Toompea Castle [Council of Ministers Headquarters] on 24 October nor pickets between 25 October and 6 November at the same place.

2. To appeal to all Greens and their fellow thinkers in Estonia who are eligible to vote to charge the Supreme Soviet deputies of their electoral okrugs with raising the question of ousting B. Saul from the post of chairman of the Council of Ministers at the forthcoming Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet session and to vote in favor of his stepping down. And to appeal to A. Ryuytel, chairman of the Presidium of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet, with a request to include the given question on the agenda of the Supreme Soviet session.

3. To appeal to voters from the electoral okrug represented by B. Saul at the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet to initiate Saul's recall from the post of Supreme Soviet deputy and to endeavor to ensure that a relevant vote is organized prior to the forthcoming Supreme Soviet session.

4. To organize 7 November demonstrations in Tallinn, Tartu, and other towns, to create a Green column with slogans and banners which express the demands of the Greens, including also in respect to resolution No.1.

5. The question of the expediency of organizing a mass meeting and pickets will be decided by the ERL Board after the Supreme Soviet session has taken place.

[Signed] Board of the Estonian Green Movement

Chernobyl Plant Director: Radiation Levels Down

LD0211104188 Moscow TASS in English 0911 GMT 2 Nov 88

[Text] Kiev November 2 TASS—"All three power-generating units of the Chernobyl nuclear power plant with a capacity of one million kilowatt each are functioning in the standard mode," Mikhail Umanets, director of the plant, has told TASS.

"Decontamination has been under way at the plant since the April 1986 accident. Radiation dose for each worker this year is estimated to reach 1,2 REM (Roentgen equivalent man), down from last year's average of 1,57 REM. Internationally allowed dose for nuclear power station personnel is 5 REM."

The active sections of all reactors and other parts of the units had to be reconstructed in the wake of the accident, said the director.

He expressed certainty that the errors that led to the 1986 accident could be prevented now due to technological advances.

Asked about the condition of the fourth unit buried in a sarcophagus, Mikhail Umanets said that it was being monitored in 150 places by gamma radiation, neutron and heat patterns, the temperature and atmosphere above the reactor. These indicators were noticed to go down.

Decontamination is continuing within the thirty-kilometre zone wherefrom 115,000 people have been evacuated by the government's decision.

The director said over 500,000 cubic metres of earth had been removed off the surface and decontamination of buildings had been done. These measures led to a marked decrease of radioactivity levels. But people were still banned from settling in this area, emphasized Umanets.

Asked if the remaining nuclear fuel would be removed from the damaged reactor for burial, Umanets said: "I think this problem will not be tackled within the next five years. We have no intention of sending people to do the job, robots are needed, but there are no such robots in the world at present."

Construction of Planned Siberian GES Shelved

PM0211102988 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 30 Oct 88 Second Edition p 1

[TASS correspondent Yu. Khots report: "There Will Be No Dam. Ecological Expert Appraisal Made of Turukhanskaya GES Project"]

[Text] Krasnoyarsk—The feasibility study for construction of the Turukhanskaya GES provides no grounds for a decision to proceed to the next stage of its planning and construction—this is the conclusion of the commission which made a social and ecological expert appraisal of the feasibility study. The Presidium of the Siberian Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences has approved this conclusion of the commission.

The Turukhanskaya GES, with a capacity of 20 million kilowatts, the construction of which had been planned on a tributary of the Yenisey—the Nizhnyaya Tunguska—would have been the biggest hydroelectric station in the world. But the impressive nature of the scheme did not arouse enthusiasm, as was the case in the past. The 200-meter-high dam would create a vast reservoir, which would flood the plains of the Nizhnyaya Tunguska, where the indigenous population of Evenkia lives.

Sensing public opposition, the collective of "Lengidroproyekt" proposed a "merciful" variant: a dam "just" 140 meters high. But "details" which could have been decisive in the hydroelectric station's construction were again not provided for. For example, no one really knew how the underground salt lakes in the reservoir's bed, hidden by permafrost, would behave. Would the latter not thaw and pour salt waters into the Yenisey?

Nor did the feasibility study address such a serious problem as compensation for the harm which the GES construction would do to the okrug's population. The Evenks can hardly be pleased with the proposals to create new settlements, to which they will move from the flooded places. And what about the inevitable changes to their centuries-old way of life? Many engineering questions have not been resolved either. The most important point is that high voltage power transmission lines, whose construction is complex and very costly, will be required to transmit power over long distances.

In this connection it is worth recalling the words which M.S. Gorbachev spoke at a meeting in the Krasnoyarsk Branch of the Siberian Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences, to the effect that we must see whether we need such huge complexes as the Krasnoyarsk or Sayano-Shushenskaya GES. There must be convenient hydroelectric stations which utilize the natural flow of rivers without changing anything. Do these words not apply equally also to the Turukhanskaya GES?

Even power workers themselves voice doubts about the expediency of such a large construction project. V. Kuznetsov, the manager of "Krasnoyarskenergo," for example, has voiced the fear that the Turukhanskaya GES could prove to be the longest construction project in the history of our hydroelectric power generation. For freight—and many millions of tonnes of it will be needed—can be delivered to this region, which has neither railroads nor motor roads, only by river and for just 4-5 months a year, which is the length of the shipping season there.

Numerous public protests, objections from the autonomous okrug's people's deputies, and decisions of gatherings of citizens of Evenkia have now been heard. The question of constructing the Turukhanskaya GES with a 200-meter-high dam is closed. A detailed study has now to be made of the second version. However, there are so many problems here requiring additional elaboration that it will take quite a long time to make the final decision on the fate of the Nizhnyaya Tunguska.

Kazakhstan Supreme Soviet Discusses Problems
LD2710151588 Alma-Ata Domestic Service in Russian 0200 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] At the standing commissions of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet. Procedures for revealing, coordinating, and examining specific problems arising among nationalities residing outside of, or not possessing. their state territorial formations were discussed by a regular session of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet standing commission for matters relating to national and internationality relations. There are representatives of 114 large and small nationalities living in harmony in Kazakhstan. A substantial proportion of them live compactly, in definite regions, and it is here that problems occasionally arise connected with the interests of one nationality or another in the spheres of education, culture, traditions and customs, community life, and the performance of religious duties. Moreover, until recently there were no corresponding state or public institutes to address these problems in the proper manner. Much is now being done in the republic, the members of the commission noted, for the development of the social sphere. Programs are being persistently implemented everywhere for housing, food supplies, the development of health care, and others.

Taking part in the session were the leaders of republican departments and consultants at deputies' working groups from among representatives of various nationalities. While noting the positive improvements, many said that proper attention was not being paid in all places to cultural, linguistic, community, and other specific interests of national groups. A number of proposals were put forward in this connection. The importance of completely removing at all costs the barriers between nationalities, of rigorously adhering to the principles of social justice, and of taking unfailing account of the interests of all national groups in addressing various issues, was stressed by Ustinov, chairman of the commission and head of the propaganda and agitation department of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee, and by other participants in the session. The commission deemed it essential to complete everywhere the creation of commissions for matters relating to national and internationality relations, and formations analagous to them, in attachment to soviets of various levels, and also the creation of deputies' working groups, to set their vigorous activity in motion. Other recommendations were also adopted, which reflected the proposals expressed at the session.

Kazakh Central Committee Apparatus Reorganized
PM0211112988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Nov 88 Second Edition p 2

[PRAVDA correspondents G. Dildyayev and T. Yesilbayev dispatch: "Plenum Held"]

[Text] Alma-Ata—A Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee plenum held 1 November discussed the question of reorganizing the structure of the party apparatus and the formation of the commissions in the republic's Communist Party Central Committee. The main speaker, G.V. Kolbin, first secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee, and other speakers pointed out that today it is not merely a question of organizational changes but of radically restructuring the work of party committees and bringing the forms and methods of political leadership into line with the new tasks.

It is envisaged that sectorial departments will be abolished. The overall number of Central Committee senior workers has been cut by 30 percent and there will be 8 departments instead of 17. The workers released will strengthen the grassroots party, soviet, and economic organs. A total of 375 posts have been cut, counting the apparatus of the Central Committee and Kazakh Communist Party obkoms and gorkoms.

It has been deemed advisable to form five Central Committee commissions in the republic's Communist Party to deal with questions of organizational-party and cadre work, ideology, questions of socioeconomic development, the state and law, and agrarian questions.

The plenum also examined the tasks of the republic's party organization to further improve the population's food supply in the light of the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference and the CPSU Central Committee July (1988) Plenum. Having noted definite achievements in this sphere, the plenum's participants expressed serious concern at the fact that demand for basic food products is not being fully met in a number of oblasts. Specific measures have been outlined to eliminate the shortcomings.

[Otherwise similar report in PRAVDA First Edition p 2 carries the following in place of last two sentences: An organizational question was examined: S.K. Kubashev has been relieved of his duties as second secretary of the Central Committee in connection with his retirement on a pension. M.S. Mendybayev, who was hitherto working as first secretary of Alma-Ata Party Obkom, has been elected second secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee by a secret ballot].

Shcherbitskiy Stresses 'Pressing Social Tasks'

AU2710121688 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 16 Oct 88 pp 1-2

[Unattributed report on a meeting of Ukrainian Communist Party officials: "To Accomplish Restructuring Tasks in a Well-Organized Manner and With Precision"—date and place not given]

[Excerpts] The principled and exacting discussion on the progress made in implementing the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference and of the July and the September (1988) CPSU Central Committee Plenums, held at the recent plenum of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, continued at a conference with the participation of members and candidate members of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairmen of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers, obkom first secretaries, oblispolkom chairmen, and department chiefs in the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee. The conference had on its agenda practical problems connected with the accountability report and election meetings in basic party organizations, with preparations for the rayon, town, and oblast party conferences, with fulfilling the plans for the current year and the 5-year period, and with accomplishing pressing social tasks.

The conference was addressed by V.V. Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary. The accomplishment of the restructuring tasks and the completion of the 5-year period, he said, require very intense efforts, good organization, self-discipline and precision in all sectors of work. A very short time has been left to the rayon, city, and oblast party conferences. All immediate problems have to be examined very closely. What matters most is to entrust leadership to deserving and well-prepared people. It is also essential to reorganize and improve the party apparatus as soon as possible .

The point is, first of all, to consider the functional obligations of every department, sector and of every functionary in the apparatus, and to orient their attention toward mastering the political methods of leadership. Particular attention is to be paid to the selection of cadres. This reserve is of the first priority. It is essential to significantly raise the level of the apparatus personnel, and at the same time to renew and to rejuvenate them, to select people, as they say, who are able to think. Appropriate attention is to be paid to all those who lose their jobs. A human consideration has to be applied to their employment and to other vitally important problems.

Ideological work, interethnic relations, and internationalist education should now be the center of attention more than ever. It was noted that some obkoms were complacent in their approach to nationality problems and have made inadequate efforts to promote bilingualism and to meet the cultural needs of ethnic groups.

Quite a few spontaneous groups have now appeared, and this is evidence of the wide democratization process in public life. However, in some of them, the leadership has been penetrated by extremists who count on adherent street mobs, on unsanctioned meetings and demonstrations, and on instigation. Unfortunately, the potential public danger of such phenomena is still being underestimated in the field. The speaker emphasized once again that there were no trivialities in ideological work. It is essential to look ahead, to settle emerging problems in time, and to consider public opinion. Leaders are expected to mix more frequently with people, to inform them, and for this purpose to make better use of television, radio, and the press. The systematic elucidation of compliance with the adopted decisions, of the activity carried out by party committees and administrative organs must be a rule at all levels.

Comrade V.V. Shcherbitskiy went on by tackling some practical problems concerning the developing sphere of services. In particular, it is essential to animate the activity of cooperative societies, and also to pay attention to the many shortcomings existing there. The share of products and services rendered and sold by the cooperatives to the state, and not to the population, exceeds one-third of the total. In public catering, more than 60 percent of the cooperatives have been created on the basis of enterprises that belonged to the network of state trade or to consumer societies. As a result of this, the existing network is actually shrinking instead of expanding. Because of the lack of appropriate control, many cooperatives disregard the valid regulations, inflate the prices, and frequently give opportunities to all kinds of dealers and rogues who attach themselves to the former.

It must also be kept in mind that the unjustifiably high wages in many cooperatives result in an outflow of qualified cadres from state enterprises and organizations. At the same time the share of pensioners, housewives, students, and pupils on the staff of cooperatives only slightly exceeds 20 percent of the total.

Oblispolkoms must radically improve leadership in the cooperative movement. Lists of products and services the needs for which could be met by cooperatives should be compiled in every oblast, town, and rayon. Problems concerning the provision of cooperatives with premises, equipment, transportation, and raw materials should be examined jointly with ministries and departments. The republic's Ministry of Finance, Gosplan, State Committee on Prices, Ministries of Justice and of Internal Affairs, procurator's offices, and other departments concerned should be requested to prevent cases of deceiving the state, profiteering, and unfair distribution of incomes.

The trouble is, the speaker emphasized, that functionaries of the agro-industrial complex are not familiar enough with the situation in trade. After all, this is the end result of their activity. On the other hand, trade and

cooperative workers should be better informed about the situation in agriculture and processing industries. The speaker touched upon the distribution of products that are in great demand or, as they say, "in short supply." Inspections have shown that, in the field, a significant part of such products flow into all sorts of reserve stocks, only to be actually squandered. And this shameful practice can be traced from the Ministry of Trade down to trade centers. This business should be put in perfect order, and should be strictly monitored by the workers, primarily along the line of trade unions.

The speaker then examined some specific tasks involving preparations for the winter season. He noted that important steps have been taken in the republic in recent year to replace worn-out heating networks more rapidly and to expand centralized heating supplies. However, in the field there are still serious problems in providing houses, hospitals, children's preschool establishments, and schools with heat. The repair of boilers and the replacement of defective heat relay lines still have not been completed in a number of towns. There are delays in providing Donbass mining towns and settlements with regular heating facilities. Oblispolkoms must speed things up here.

In a number of oblasts, the population is still short of fuel. In Ivano-Frankovsk, Lvov, and Chernovtsy Oblasts, fuel still has not been delivered to the families of persons disabled in the Great Patriotic War. In Vinnitsa, Dnepropetrovsk, Zhitomir, Nikolayev, and Khmelnitskiy Oblasts, there are arrears in filling collective contracts for fuel delivery to the working people. In Donetsk, Crimea, Kharkov, and some other oblasts, there are delays in fuel delivery to schools, hospitals, and clubs. Obkoms and oblispolkoms are expected to continuously keep an eye on these problems, and if need be, to hold economic leaders and local soviets strictly accountable.

In summing up, the first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee emphasized once again that all the work at the present stage consisted mainly of implementing the decisions of the 19th party conference and the July and the September CPSU Central Committee Plenums on deepening restructuring. It is important to consistently and comprehensively make the changes planned both in the political and the economic spheres, and to perfect the style and methods of work performed by party and state organs, bearing in mind the delineated functions. [passage omitted]

The conference also examined some other issues concerning preparations for the forthcoming rayon, city, and oblast party conferences.

K.K. Prodan, affairs administrator in the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, informed the conference participants about the revision of the plan for the construction of edifices for party organs and about the work performed in the republic to turn over to the working people for their social needs buildings that are either under construction or to be vacated.

The following comrade members and candidate members of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo participated in the conference: I.A. Gerasimov, I.G. Grintsov, Yu.N. Yelchenko, V.A. Ivashko, B.V. Kachura, V.A. Sologub, A.A. Titarenko, V.S. Shevchenko, S.I. Gurenko, V.D. Kryuchov, K.I. Masik, and Ya.P. Pogrebnyak.

Change in Ukrainian Control Committee Noted

AU2710161388 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 22 Oct 88 p 3

["A Decree of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Text] The Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolves to appoint Comrade Anatoliy Pavlovich Sazonov as first deputy chairman of the Ukrainian SSR People's Control Committee, having relieved Comrade Vladimir Aleksandrovich Artamonov of these duties, in connection with his retirement on pension.

[Signed] V. Shevchenko, chairman, and N. Khomenko, secretary of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

The city of Kiev, 21 October 1988

Decision on Shevchenko Jubilee, Flight Safety

AU2710160988 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 20 Oct 88 pp 1,3

[Unattributed report: "In the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Excerpts] **The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Secretariat has adopted a decision on preparations for the 175th anniversary of the birth of T.G. Shevchenko.** The decision notes that, in recent years, experience in and the tradition of commemorating the great bard [Kobzar] have been enriched, interest in the poet's life and works has increased, and his heritage has been more fully utilized in the people's spiritual life. The 175th anniversary of the birth of T.G. Shevchenko, to be marked in March 1989, has attracted public attention both at home and abroad, and has been entered in the UNESCO calendar of memorable dates. The jubilee preparations are closely associated with the process of social renewal, and with the search for new approaches to the processes of cultural development, of patriotic and internationalist education, and of perfecting relations between ethnic groups. [passage omitted]

The republic's party organizations are called upon to ensure that the 175th anniversary of the birth of T.G. Shevchenko is commemorated at a high organizational,

ideological, and theoretical level, and that the humanistic ideas of the revolutionary poet are widely used in patriotic and internationalist education, in fostering friendship with the peoples of the USSR, and in developing cultural relations with the public abroad. [passage omitted]

The work carried out by the leadership and the political directorate of the Ukrainian civil aviation administration to ensure the safety of civil aviation flights has been examined. [passage omitted]

The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee has found that the administration's leadership and political directorate still have not radically restructured the work to prevent accidents. Discipline and efficiency in passenger services are improving very slowly. In many airports, service regulations are complied with in an unsatisfactory way. The safety of flights made by agricultural aviation units, in which the situation has deteriorated in the last 2 years, gives rise to serious anxiety. There are miscalculations in the selection and training of cadres, and in the formation of crews. The social sphere is developing inadequately. The administration's commanding and management staff, as well as the republic's committee of the aviation workers' union, are slow in restructuring their work.

The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee has instructed communist leaders in the Ukrainian civil aviation administration to overcome these shortcomings. Obkoms and Kiev Gorkom have been commissioned to give party organizations in civil aviation subunits practical assistance in raising the level of party political work, particularly among aircrews and the personnel in the traffic control services.

Volgograd Youths 'Rampage' After Rock Concert

PM2810143988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Oct 88 Second Edition p 6

[Correspondent Yu. Shcherbinin "Commentary": "After the Rock Concert"]

[Text] Volgograd—I looked at the photo and it seemed that I had seen it all before in the newspapers and magazines—the defaced railroad coaches and trolleybuses, the smashed windows of stores and apartment blocks, the overturned kiosks, and the wrecked State Motor Vehicle Inspectorate post.... No, this is not a train wreck. A "typhoon" has struck the streets of Volgograd. How else can you describe the wild rampage by the thousands-strong crowd of youths who spilled out of the central stadium the other day after being "turned on" for about 2 hours by visiting rock groups?

But should one see the musicians as the ultimate cause of the mass hooliganism? It is well known that these same groups do not cause such an uproar when appearing in capitals and abroad.

I spoke with some 14-year-olds after the concert. Most of them spoke with contempt about the hooligans. They were sincerely worried that because of their coevals' escapades in the city the promised performances by the next group would not take place. Yet the rioters numbered not hundreds but thousands. Small wonder that numerous policemen did not dare go into the railroad coaches or that there were four yellow and blue striped cars among the overturned vehicles.

"Perhaps a stadium is not the place for a rock concert?"

"Perhaps," the youngsters agreed. "It is hard to stay in your seat with music like that."

But the main question remains unanswered: Who should call the tune in the city and what tune should it be?

The main problem, I think, is in the city's general culture. It is no coincidence that it has the reputation of being uncultured. It was not until last year that its symphony orchestra appeared. It is a disgraceful fact that the art gallery is housed in a building previously intended as a store. And in this situation the aesthetic education of young people is essentially left in the hands of enterprising cooperative members.

It is true that he who pays the piper calls the tune. Pursuing mercenary aims, the cultural fringe cooperatives which have proliferated in Volgograd invite the most loathsome groups to give shows. Unlike the philharmonic society, the groups are paid by arrangement with the cooperatives, which seek to use palaces of sport and stadiums for this purpose.

Judging by the advertising posters it is hard to recall that the oblast has a philharmonic society because many of its workers joined the cooperative en bloc. And whereas before this organization at least took care of the financial side of matters (if the plan was fulfilled it could count on a bonus), now the cooperatives' extra earnings exceed their old quarterly and half-yearly extra payments many times over.

Causes of Youth Crime, Solutions Discussed

PM0111142388 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 44, 29 Oct-4 Nov 1988 (Signed to Press 27 Oct 88) pp 6-7

[Interview with Candidate of Juridical Sciences A. Pankratov, chief of a sector of the USSR Prosecutor's Office All-Union Research Institute on Problems of Strengthening Legality and Law and Order, by correspondent A. Petrov: "On the Edge of the Law"; date, place not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Your ARGUMENTY I FAKTY correspondent talks with Candidate of Juridical Sciences V. Pankratov, chief of a sector of the USSR Prosecutor's Office All-Union Research Institute on Problems of Strengthening Legality and Law and Order, about relationships between young people and the causes of youth crime.

[Petrov] Vladimir Vasilyevich, by the very nature of your scientific activity you deal with the problems of minors and their desire to unite to share common interests, including ones which do not always accord with the law. Is this a new phenomenon or one that is rooted in the past?

[Pankratov] By their very nature and the peculiarities of their genetic makeup young people want contact with people like them. Our great predecessors said that man is a social being. We unfortunately forget such truths; in particular we forget them as they apply to minors. Thus, it is man's yearning for contact and desire for social activity, typical of our times, that lie at the basis of those "informal" groups.

Something else that helps bring young people together is the formalized activity of Komsomol leaders, which may be regarded by young people as something negative. Therefore they seek their own field of activity for themselves.

[Petrov] What can you say about the role of the leader's personality and his place in the group?

[Pankratov] Unfortunately, we tend to underestimate the leadership system. The leader of such a youth group is not always the most intelligent and most knowledgeable member. His basic qualities are decisiveness and experience. It is this that singles him out from the group. Where the leader goes the group will follow.

[Petrov] The concept of an "informal association" is amorphous, in my view, and it even obscures the individuality of the various groups. Do you differentiate between them in terms of age or other criteria?

[Pankratov] Basically young people divide into three age groups: 17 and under—adolescents or minors; from 18 to 24—"young" adults; and from 25 to 29—young people who have found their place in life and acquired a certain amount of experience of life.

I also identify three basic types of youth associations. The first and most natural and therefore acceptable is the "recreational." For example, the "Spartak fans," the "heavy metal" enthusiasts, the followers of "Akvarium" [Soviet rock band], and so on. One might also mention the people who get together in courtyards and entrances with tape recorders and guitars. I do not see anything asocial in this.

The second, more serious type would include politicized groups. They have different demands that are more intellectual and more socially pronounced.

The appearance of this type of group indicates that at present our entire society is seeking channels for the development of social activeness. And young people are participating in this. As for assessing these groups, I can positively assess, for example, any youth movement for an ecologically clean environment.

The third and most criminal type is the asocial or antisocial. It would be appropriate to mention here that any natural formation of minors "descends a slippery slope" if it embarks on the path of satisfying mercenary inclinations.

Even in "recreational" groups one may meet young people indulging in alcohol and even drugs. As for antisocial formations, this is the "norm." The boundaries of the permissible contract and the likelihood of offenses increases.

[Petrov] It has been suggested in the press that the clashes between groups of youths in Kazan, Morshansk, and even in Moscow were inspired by some homegrown mafia....

[Pankratov] I am very concerned at the moment about the fact that it is the dealers of the "black economy" who are doing the most to corrupt young people by inciting them to commit currency crimes and to sell off jackets, jeans, footwear, and badges at the Riga market and in other favorite places. These "soldiers" of the "black economy" to a large extent themselves constitute asocial groups. They are noticeable because their "business" requires publicity, but we do not know and we do not see their "bosses," who live and enjoy themselves without any publicity. But there is still only a potential danger of youth groupings becoming directly involved in the "black economy." But even that is too much. When they merge it will be much harder to cope with them. For example, in 1987 67.1 percent of young offenders had committed crimes in groups. Some 19.6 percent of them together with adults and 18.5 percent as members of the Komsomol....

[Petrov] Have analogous situations existed in the USSR in the past?

[Pankratov] In the mid-twenties it was even necessary to introduce troops into Leningrad to combat hooligans. There was a crime surge.

[Petrov] But, as you say, such groups are noticeable, and it would hardly present any great difficulty to register them and exert appropriate influence.

[Pankratov] In an attempt to "improve" indicators by various means, militia staffers frequently keep antisocial manifestations by minors off the record. And whenever there is a surge of violence in some region, they clutch their head in their hands: "Oh, how could this happen?" This happened but was kept dark for a long time, although the militia can use specific methods to bring the true organizers to light in good time.

Mention must also be made of the development of the legal regulation of youth problems.

[Petrov] We are witnessing processes which at first were covert but are now quite official—the accumulation of funds in the hands of cooperative members and highly paid state employees, the division of professions into "high-status" and "low-status" ones....

[Pankratov] Yes, the social differentiation of society influences the consciousness of young people, who believe themselves equal in everything. Adults understand the relativity of their position, but you cannot explain everything to children. Any violation of the principles of **social justice** has always and everywhere led to a growth in crime. There must be payment for labor and punishment for an offense. And this must enter the minds and blood of young people.

[Petrov] The mass media increasingly frequently inform their audience of many details from the life of yesterday's "respected people," and television shows shots of an active form of youth protest in Western countries. But is "adult" glasnost harmless to young people?

[Pankratov] Of course, all this happens in the world and affects our children too. Therefore it is very important that we not confine ourselves to news of Michael Jackson and "heavy metal" or to movies about Mafia atrocities and sex. Unfortunately, today's press provides few positive examples, including from the life of Western youth. Glasnost never does any harm, but its level or, rather, its trends must not be one-sided.

[Petrov] What do you see as measures to prevent recidivism among minors?

[Pankratov] A second crime is usually committed on reaching maturity—after the age of 18. But the majority of adult criminals committed their first offense as a minor. I believe that we must have a special judicial system for minors which would include special courts and an institution of expert social and psychological assessment. The kinds of punishment for minors must also be differentiated.

[Petrov] To conclude our conversation, I would like to hear about possible alternative ways out of the situation that has come about. Do you have any recommendations to make?

[Pankratov] You know, there has recently been a drop in the growth of premeditated murders committed by minors. On the other hand, there has been an increase in property crimes, hooligan attacks, and crimes against law and order. The indicators would be higher if the militia registered everything they ought to, without chasing after a clear-up "percentage" and artificially adjusting figures. Impunity gives rise to a new crime.

It is incontestable that the family is the basis of everything. Parents' associations are needed. Who will keep our children occupied if we ourselves do not? Show concern for children's leisure in the yard or the rayon and resolve many other problems! Crime prevention among minors is also a means of developing the social activeness of adults.

In addition, party organs and soviet political institutes must develop leisure activities. We know that there are approximately 300 kinds of leisure. It would be expedient to set up youth affairs departments under ispolkoms to study both the employment and the job placement of young people and to monitor the state of cultural centers.

Radio Moscow Offers 'Commercial Advertising'

PA0111193388 [Editorial Report] Moscow in Spanish to Latin America at 2300 GMT on 31 October carries the following message during its "Radiorama" segment:

"Is your business good? It can be even better with the perestroyka under way in the USSR. Commercial advertising is in full steam over the waves of Radio Moscow International. The voice of our station reaches the most remote areas of continents, countries, and cities: 160 countries and 63 languages at reasonable prices. Request any advertising you want through telex No 411137. I repeat, 411137. Do not hesitate, do not waste any time, do not miss this opportunity. Call up telex No 411137." [Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1200 GMT on 14 Oct carried a related report on foreign advertising. This report was published on page 65 of the 18 October Soviet Union DAILY REPORT]

Deputy Finance Minister Explains Tax Structure

PM2710150288 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 42, 16 Oct 88 p 8

[Interview with Deputy Minister of Finance Viktor Semenov by Sergey Sibirtsev: "What Kind of Taxes Do We Pay?"—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Not everyone is able to answer the question: "How much do you pay in income tax?" Many are ignorant of the existence of other kinds of taxes. Is not it a paradox? We argue ourselves hoarse about a price reform, but the problem of taxation today seems to worry only co-op members. "MN's" Sergey Sibirtsev discussed these problems with Viktor Semenov, Deputy Minister of Finance.

Q.: We like to say that our taxes are about the lowest in the world. By this we mean only direct taxes, mainly income taxes. But we have long known that the people's standard of living is more affected by indirect taxes. Do they exist in the USSR?

A.: Of course. Moreover, they exceed direct taxes eightfold. Last year, indirect taxes accounted for 59.1 percent of state budget revenues whereas direct taxes contributed only 7.5 percent.

Q.: To what extent does this tell on our purses?

A.: Any tax tells. Direct taxes diminish the budget of a worker's family by 8.6 percent and, according to my estimates, another 60 percent goes in indirect taxes. Part of this money is returned, though, via the social consumption funds. Huge subsidies are allotted for food production. And the money for free health care, education, pensions and allowances has to come from somewhere.

Q.: We know when we pay direct taxes - they are deducted from our wages. But when do we pay indirect taxes?

A.: In shops. The retail prices of many commodities include the so-called turnover tax. For instance, the wholesale price of a Volga car is 3,416 roubles, but the retail price is over 16,000. Owing to historically established conditions, we get the bulk of the turnover tax from goods produced by the light and food industries. Today it also forms part of the prices of household goods—refrigerators, vacuum cleaners, TV sets, tape recorders, etc. The turnover tax makes box-calf footwear 45 percent and children's footwear 10 percent more expensive. Staple fabrics are 19.6 percent and cotton fabrics 27.3 percent costlier. The highest turnover tax has been built into the price of vodka - 94 percent.

However, the turnover tax is only a part of indirect taxes. A much larger part of the budget is made up of taxes which are included in the prices of commodities but which are deducted from enterprise profits, that is from the workers' wages fund. Indirect taxes also include insurance payments (in our case they are paid not by workers, but by enterprises).

Q.: Foreign entrepreneurs say goods they sell us are often marked up many times for sale in our shops. Can these price increases be considered indirect taxes?

A.: Probably. But these figures aren't published and I didn't include them in my estimates. Our prices differ considerably from world prices owing to immense distortions in the development of the economy. We have very cheap metals and instruments, but expensive consumer goods, synthetics and radio equipment.

The profits from foreign trade can be gauged from the following figures: In Austria we buy natural leather footwear for an average 14.54 roubles a pair; in Belgium for 13 roubles; in Finland for 19.84 roubles. Synthetic leather footwear is much cheaper on the world market. Last year, for instance, we bought it in Japan at three roubles a pair. We buy butter in Belgium for 2.2 roubles a kilo; in West Germany for 2.24 roubles. Every Japanese tape recorder costs us 42 roubles on average (this includes dictaphones and stereo systems). Anyone can easily supplement these figures with the help of a calculator and a copy of Soviet Foreign Trade in 1987.

Q.: Perhaps taxes on cooperatives should also be seen as indirect taxes?

A.: I disagree. In this case the tax dictates only the bottom price, the top price being set by supply and demand. As long as demand outstrips supply, cooperatives can charge top rouble. Incidentally, I consider the criticism of the March 14 Decree on cooperative taxes quite fair. The graduation of the tax must be smoother than envisaged by the Decree. It mustn't go as high as 90 percent. The maximum? 50 or 60 percent.

If we tax cooperatives the way we tax state enterprises, the majority won't survive. In light industry, for instance, state enterprises turn over 72 percent of their revenues on average to the budget.

I think that as cooperatives develop, all enterprises—state-owned and cooperative—will be taxed equally. But for now this is not in the cooperatives' interest.

Besides, only 3.1 percent of the population makes over 400 roubles a month in the state sector. Not including servicemen.

Q.: Perhaps instead of tightening the screws in the cooperative sector, there is a need to loosen them in the state sector?

A.: This is a gradual process, depending on the growth of labour productivity. If state-owned enterprises paid the same taxes today as do cooperatives to the treasury, the state would go straight down the drain.

Q.: Unlike indirect taxes, many people do not pay direct taxes in our country. Whence this system of privileges?

A.: It is pointless to look for scientific approaches in our tax system. The existing privileges appeared at different times. Some of them have survived from the first years of the Soviet system. For instance, no tax is levied on commercial hunters, members of gold-and platinum-digging cartels or individual craftsmen in the Far North. Distributors of lottery tickets aren't taxed. After the resolution on combatting rodents, the catchers of gophers, hamsters and moles were exempted from paying income taxes. When specialists were found wanting in the countryside, it was decided that state farm directors, collective farm chairmen and their deputies, agronomists, livestock experts and other specialists should not pay agricultural taxes. In actual fact, only rank-and-file collective farmers pay it today.

Heroes of the Soviet Union, the bearers of Orders of Glory of all three classes, and invalids of the Great Patriotic War have no direct taxes. Recently rural party functionaries were also exempted.

Different taxation scales have been introduced for different forms of income. Differences also exist in the level of the tax-free minimum—for servicemen it is five times higher than usual: only an income of over 350 roubles a month is taxed.

Q.: As far as I know, the financial departments of city and district executive committees can exempt "individual citizens" fully or partially from paying taxes. Are there many such "individual citizens"?

A.: The Ministry of Finance doesn't have this information, since financial departments aren't obliged to report it.

Q.: When will the tax reform start?

A.: In the early 1990s, I think. First the concept must be discussed as broadly as possible among the public, and then the draft.

As I see it, the reform should somewhat equalize incomes, without lowering incentives to earn more. I hope that in the long term we shall be able to go over to a single scale of taxation.

Q.: Should the reform focus on direct taxes or on indirect taxes?

A.: I think the share of indirect taxes should decrease. Everyone should fill out a form declaring his income every year, as is done in developed countries. And the financial bodies audit these tax forms randomly. But today such forms would cause more uproar than any rise in prices. Our people don't know how to count their money. And it looks as if they are reluctant to learn.

No legislation on taxation has been drafted. Tax evasion is not even envisaged in the Criminal Code. Or rather, this is considered a crime only in wartime.

Tax inspection is just beginning. And it is encountering incredible difficulties. There is no personnel. Salaries are miserable—varying between 160 and 200 roubles in the case of heads of district financial departments. Others get even less. But our work is no easier than in departments on combatting thefts of socialist property. Low earnings make skilled workers go to other organizations.

Difficulties are bound to increase. But no one doubts the reform is necessary.

Moscow Black Market, Ruble Exchange Depicted

PM2710145888 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 42, 16 Oct 88 p 4

[Yelena Khanga, Leonid Miloslavskiy, and Aleksandr Kabakov article: "Five Roubles to the Dollar. The Exchange Rate on Moscow's 'Black Market'"]

[Text] **The militia confiscated 130,000 dollars from black marketeers and detained 5,881 persons for illegally trading with foreigners—all in the first half of 1988. Though these detainees paid a total of 185,000 roubles in fines to the state, this illegal business keeps expanding.**

Our Zhiguili and a tourist bus drew up to the Maurice Thorez Embankment almost simultaneously. The special Moscow militia unit which had organized our "excursion" to the busiest points for "fartsovka" (illegal trading for foreigners) parked round the corner. "We're too well known around here," the militiamen explained. "We're even on a first-name basis with some of these guys." As for us, disguised in jeans and animated tourist-like expressions of expectation, we melted into the crowd pouring out of the bus.

While the tourists snapped pictures of the Mrelin across the Moskva river, we also pretended to be enraptured by the cityscape. Then three young men cropped up out of nowhere. One approached a grey-haired lady and whispered something. He dived into his bag, the lady into hers. Our "guide" suddenly appeared at our side.

Aleksandrv Khalfin, of Moscow's special militia unit: "See that one, in the grey pullover? He's trying to make a deal. He's not a big-time 'fartsovshchik': I don't even know him. He'll offer a badge, a matreshka doll, and if these tourists were Americans, he'd offer our state flag or something from a military uniform. In return, he'll take anything—from chewing gum to clothes to dollars. No big deal? Just wait...."

Exactly what is "fartsovka"? There's probably no foreign equivalent. It is based on the high prestige of anything foreign—from a fountain pen to a car. And on the fact that the official exchange rate for the rouble doesn't coincide with realities in the world of commodity-money relations.

For many of us "fartsovka" is just a worthless hobby for dumb teenagers who needle foreigners for worn-out jeans or plastic bags. How far that cliche is from reality becomes clear when one remembers the case of Rokotov and Faybishenko, large-scale currency dealers, thirty years ago. Since then cases of this kind have become routine in our courts, though not on so grand a scale.

Anton D., a minor, was tried by the People's Court of Moscow's Kievskiy District on October 5. He was accused of buying 50 dollars from Italian tourist V. Sardi for 200 roubles which his grandmother had given him. Anton said he wanted to buy jeans, and 50 dollars was what he needed to do that. Anton's mother, his legal representative, wept;

she couldn't understand what sort of pants one would pay 200 roubles for and what sort of dollars those were which, at the official exchange rate, cost a bit over 29 roubles.... The prosecutor asked that the defendant, who pleaded guilty and fully repented, be punished but not deprived of his freedom.

The fellow in the grey pullover glanced over his shoulder and immediately moved away from the lady he'd been talking to. Could our appearance have made him suspect something or was he just being cautious? The tourists continued clicking their cameras, we continued admiring the view, the cautious young men continued to stare thoughtfully at the river. Altogether it looked like some children's game. It was, however, neither a game nor childish mischief.

Aleksandr Khalfin: "Just like any market, the black market is not adverse to small change, to kopeks—and they add up to thousands of roubles. What makes it so hard to fight 'fartsovka' is our lack of efficient legal levers. What can we do? Note the 'badgering of foreigners for purposes of trading.' Under the Decree, the first-offense fine is 100 roubles, for a second offense it's 200. But first we have to prove the 'badgering' and the tourist must confirm it. The guy usually says he was just asking about unemployment in the tourist's country, while the tourist hurries away. At best we manage the purely symbolic punishment of very small fry. Though we are completely convinced that behind this small fry is a well-organized large-sale operation. We estimate the worth of one 17-year-old 'fartsovshchik' at 17,000 roubles! But I can't give you his name—until we've caught him red-handed he's not a 'fartsovshchik'...."

Not far from the observation platform on Lenin Hills, we talked to a fasionable-looking blond fellow. One of the men accompanying us spied him among the people crowding platform and beckoned to him. He wandered over to us and nodded at the man: "Hi, Sergey Ivanovich...." In the same free and easy manner he agreed to talk to us—as long as we didn't use his name.

N., 19, a professional "fartsovshchik" (unemployed):

"I'll tell it to you straight—you'll never be able to put an end to this. I'll pay any fine, I can 'earn' it in one day. I'm already something like a reckless gambler. It's like a disease. See what I mean? Today 200, tomorrow 300.... I've been doing this for four years and don't regret anything. Risk? Of course there's risk, but not much. My future? Someday I'll marry—probably a foreigner, and not a poor one, you can be sure of that...."

We asked how often foreigners refused to deal with him or his colleagues. He smiled: Maybe one in five. There are no barriers between the "fartsovshchiks" and their partners—neither linguistic nor ethical barriers—while the dollar stretches both ways, from here to somewhere beyond our borders. In the self-styled "bank" that roams from the hotel to the observation platform, from the museum in Kolomenskoye to Red Square, the "fartsovshchiks" give foreigners five roubles to the dollar. Middlemen pay the small fry seven roubles to the dollar, then resell those dollars for 10 roubles apiece to other foreign visitors, for some of whom buying and selling currency is the principal purpose of their frequent visits to the USSR.

Aleksandr Khalfin: "What can we fight this international business with? First, the Decree which is full of loopholes. Second, Article 88 of the Criminal Code, which covers illegal currency operations. But again it's easy to get round it. The dealers know that only too well.... Just as they know what difficulties we in militia have almost with everything—starting with cars, whose licence numbers are familiar even to the youngsters hanging around hotels, and ending with the officials' wardrobes. But those are mere trifles, the main thing is the law. And the law is so flawed it tempts more and more violators. Thus my doubt—strange as it may seem, whether such a law is necessary. Should the punishment be harsher? I'm sure that wouldn't help. Should it be less harsh? That's absurd. Now kids are brought to me whom we'd overlooked five or ten years ago because of the shortage of jeans and chewing gum. In five years I'll be seeing the kids we're overlooking now because of a shortage of common sense. In the meantime the bigwigs, the bosses who pocket thousands of dollars remain out of sight—as do their foreign partners who, as a rule, are not tired."

...By the Bolshoi Theatre life was bustling. In between the famous columns, where we're so used to hunting for extra tickets, the same fashionable-looking young men are offering those tickets to foreigners for ten and twenty dollars. Where on earth does that, say, young fellow in the green shirt get these tickets, which ordinary mortals can never get? The system functions. It has its executives in every link, while the militia manages, with really great difficulty, to get its hands on only the very tip of this dollar iceberg.

One of the recent big-time cases involved a gang in Leningrad. I. Kogan, a senior research associate at one of the city's scientific institutes, and A. Semeynov, a chief porter at the Pulkovskaya Hotel, sold paintings to Finnish tourists for markkas. They even sold a painting by Ayvazovskiy. Their receipts were 2,000 marks, 4,000.... But even that case doesn't show the true scope. The Finns, of course, were never brought to trial....

Now that we're restructuring our legal system, it might be worthwhile putting some hard-and-fast rules in place of the ineffective prohibitions. Why not set up special shops that would take on commission or simply purchase all sorts of things from foreigners? These shops could be state-owned or cooperative and they'd be profitable both for our society and for a foreigner who wants to make a little money on an extra pair of pants.

Much more serious, however, is another question—what is the real exchange rate of the dollar? The black-market rate or the official one? It seems to me it's the real market rate. So shouldn't the rate offered in the state exchange bureaus be as near as possible to that one? No matter how one tries, one can't fool life....

Lawyer Examines Glasnost, Censorship

LD0111145888 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 43, 23 Oct 88 pp 12-13

[Master of Laws Mikhail Fedotov article: "The More Freedom, the Greater the Responsibility. Will Censorship And Glasnost Get Along?"]

[Text] "I proposed taking this phrase out, for it might make the reader think that censorship exists in this country," was how a representative of the Chief Administration for the Protection of State Secrets in the Press, attached to the USSR Council of Ministers (Glavlit), tried to formulate his argument five years ago when he spoke before the editors of a prestigious magazine. But even though his words sounded strange, no one at the editor's briefing even smiled. And he himself had no desire to joke either, because the organization he represented protected state secrets, while it had somehow happened that the very existence of preliminary censorship had become a secret, too. But for whom was it really a secret? It's a familiar scene from our past life—we know that some phenomenon exists, but maintain that it doesn't.

Answering the questions of a L'HUMANITE correspondent, Mikhail Gorbachev said quite definitely that yes, we do have censorship. Its task is to prevent the divulgement of state and military secrets, and the illegal propaganda of war, violence, cruelty, offending an individual or pornography. The habitual mist that shrouded censorship for so many years is just beginning to lift. Today we're already able to judge what sort of an institution it is, and whether there aren't other, alternative possibilities for dealing with the same problems.

Censorship has existed for many centuries and has engendered a variety of different types. One type is the preliminary censorship which was widely used in the last century. The most critical things said about it were probably those said by young Karl Marx. He thought that the introduction of censorship was an expression of mistrust of the press, of public opinion and of the people. Censorship acts secretly and, because of this, it tries (and quite often succeeds) in remaining outside the bounds of criticism. Lastly, censorship by its very nature leads to a condemnation of the opinion of anyone who thinks differently than the censor and his bosses. The paradox is that censorship, without desiring to do so, makes any work which it forbids seem attractive, regardless of its real value. Marx noted that by hiding unfavourable facts and contradictory opinions from glasnost, thus creating a false picture of well-being, censorship does not bring well-being nearer to all, but turns the people into a "rabble of private individuals".

Of course each state had and has some sort of means of control over the activities of the press. But censorship.... In Great Britain, for example, it was formally done away with in the 17th century. Tsarist Russia, to the contrary, was at the time only preparing to introduce preliminary censorship.

After the victory of the October Revolution, given the continuing struggle, to tolerate the existence of the counter-revolutionary press would mean, as Lenin said, "allowing Kaledin's Bombs to be reinforced by the bombs of falsehood". That's why a decree was issued on the second day of Soviet power, which established that the organs of the press that call for open resistance and disobedience to the government, or sow trouble through an obviously slanderous distortion of facts, or call for activities of a criminal nature, are to be closed down either temporarily or permanently. But censorship was not introduced. I think that to the majority of the professional revolutionaries, who had themselves experienced the humiliating feeling of making speeches in Aesopian language, the very idea of "red censorship" seemed alien. Lenin's position was clearly expressed in the Decree on the Press—"as soon as the new system is firmly established, all administrative influences on the press will be ended; it will enjoy complete freedom within the limits of responsibility to the court, according to the broadest and the most progressive law relating to the particular case."

However, we've had to wait for this law on the press for seven decades, while the idea of preliminary censorship was quickly implemented by a budding bureaucracy. In May 1919, the press department of the Moscow Soviet obligated all publishers in the capital to ask its permission before publishing any manuscript. The Council of People's Commissars was angry—what grounds did they have for this? And it annulled the resolution.

Preliminary censorship was introduced throughout Russia by the November 12, 1921 Decree on Private Publishers—permission from Gosizdat (state publishers) or Gubpolitprosvet (regional political enlightenment organization) was needed in order to publish any manuscript. This decree was adopted by the Smaller Council of People's Commissars and signed by Aleksandr Tsyurupa. Several months later, on June 6, 1922, the Council of People's Commissars approved—with the signature of Alexey Rykov, its Vice-Chairman—a Statute on the Main Administration of Literary and Publishing Affairs, attached to the People's Commissariat for Education (Glavlit).

At first it was authorized to issue permission for setting up new organs of the press and publishing houses, to compile lists of forbidden editions, and to subject manuscripts to preliminary read-throughs. Certain publications by Comintern, the State Publishers, Glavpolitprosvet, the newspaper IZVESTIYA VTSIK, the entire Party

press and the works of the Academy of Sciences were free from this control. In these publications, Glavlit succeeded in securing only the interests of subsequent military censorship by looking over already-printed publications. There were few cases when a work was forbidden. If it found in a manuscript something going against soviet power, a divulsion of military secrets, anything which might excite nationalistic or religious fanaticism, pornography, or any provocation of public opinion by giving false data, then Glavlit vetoed the work.

Not too long after that the concept of "military secrets" was replaced by the broader "data not to be divulged," and instead of "anti-Soviet agitation" there appeared "works containing hostile ideology concerning social life, religion, the economy, national relations, the arts, etc." It is easy to understand that these "flexible" formulas provided boundless opportunities for advocates of the administrative-command methods of management in ideology and culture.

Soon Glavlit was enjoying the right of giving consent to the appointment of editors and changing members on editorial boards. And at the beginning of the 1930's it was entrusted with drawing up the list of the data that it intended to protect. Then the situation with those publications which had previously been free of control also changed. The only things Glavlit could't control were secret documents, forms, account books, office books and wall newspapers.

So stood matters in the mid-1930's—there is absolutely precise and available data about that.

Now let's take a look at today. Restructuring, especially in its second period, make known the need for a reasonable combination of the forms of society's control over the mass media with glasnost, openness and socialist pluralism. I think that this control must discard what are obviously obsolete organizational forms and reinstate Lenin's concept of "responsibility to the court, according to the broadcast and most progressive law relating to the particular case." The notorious blue (or red?) pencil is more suitable in the hand of an editor than it is in the hand of an official. Although there are journalists behind these officials' backs who prefer not to stick their necks out to defend public interests, justifying this with "the censors won't let it through anyway."

Today the CPSU is building its relations with the media in a spirit of mutual respect and trust. Against this background the essentially bureaucratic, preliminary censorship looks like a monument to the style of administrative command.

Of course, we cannot help but take into account the need for protecting state and other secrets. But why censorship? Such secrets aren't born in editorial offices. They can only reach editors through the negligence of the officials to whom they were entrusted. Wouldn't it be more sensible to guard such secrets at the places where they're supposed to be, and not at the places they accidentally find their way to?

Lastly, the very list of secrets, especially of classified information, has grown to unnatural proportions. It looks like it's time to reduce such lists to the necessary minimum. And to openly publish the lists of state secrets (without disclosing them). By the way, that's exactly how it was in the 1920's, and the list itself fitted easily on a single page. That way it will be known beforehand exactly which information should not be used in the press, and what punishment the court would impose on the journalist who violates the ban.

If it is possible to protect secrets without the aid of preliminary censorship, then it is even easier to do without it when we deal with, say, calls for war or violence. There are always a responsible editor, an author and the Criminal Code. The system of internal newspaper editorial control and subsequent responsibility to the court is quite capable of keeping our press from being saturated with publications containing war propaganda, pornography, calls for violence and any items insulting individuals—in other words, containing anything punishable by law.

The very development of the media is forcing preliminary censorship to gradually give up its hold. There are more and more "live" programmes on the radio and TV, and fewer and fewer subjects forbidden to the press. And now there's this article, too. If, of course, they let it through....

Readers, Experts Comment on Draft Laws

PM2610165088 [Editorial report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 October 1988 Second Edition carries on page 3 a full-page feature headed "Power of the Soviets, Power of the People: We Discuss the Draft Laws on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution and elections of USSR People's Deputies," consisting of readers' comments and articles by a local soviet deputy and a legal expert.

The 2,400-word "Reader's Opinion" column carries this introductory passage: "Immediately after the press publication of the draft USSR Laws on Elections of USSR People's Deputies and on Amendments and Additions to the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the USSR, PRAVDA's correspondents asked various people to share their impressions. We publish here the first interviews." The first interviewee, V. Dolnikov, a fitter at the "Arsenal" plant in Kiev, discussing the draft electoral law, says, in a passage highlighted in boldface: **"I object to the number of seats for various organizations. By what principle, for instance, can the Komsomol, with many millions of members, be compared with the considerably smaller creative unions? Does this mean that 100 deputies from the CPSU preclude the nomination of communists from other social organizations, and indeed from electoral**

okrugs? Why will a deputy's seat be granted by a far larger number of votes in the electoral okrugs than in the social organizations? Finally, how are the duties to be divided among the two kinds of representatives, and whose interests will be represented by the people nominated by social organizations? If it is only the interests of, say, the creative unions, how can you call them people's deputies?"

The following sentence from an interview with T. Khalmatov, carpenter at the "Frunzekpdproyektstroy," Kirghiz SSR, is also printed in boldface: **"I would like the provision on referendums in the constitution to be defined more precisely and more widely."** Khalmatov adds that the provision has long existed, but "in effect has never once been used."

M. Solina, an instructor on the timber, paper, and wood processing industry workers' trade union obkom (Irkutsk), begins by praising the proposal to create a Constitutional Oversight Committee, and quotes the example of local housing problems. Her concluding paragraph, highlighted in boldface, reads: **"I believe it is necessary, after making the amendments and additions to the Constitution, to quickly bring all legislative acts into line with it, under the supervision of the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee."**

R. Dyachenko, team leader at the "Krasnodarskaya" poultry unit, Krasnodar Kray, argues against allowing exceptions to the rule that there should be more candidates than seats: "I believe this part of Article 100 should include no exceptions to the rule. I propose it should be formulated thus: **'A larger number of candidates than there are seats is to be included on the ballot papers.'** This system will allow voters to choose, not to 'cast votes,' and candidates wishing to take a deputy's seat will enjoy the people's real trust and have the opportunity to prove themselves."

A. Ratniyeks, a thread grinder and veteran of the Riga "Avtoelektropribor" plant, Latvia, after giving his generally positive impression of the drafts, goes on: "But the draft also includes provisions that, I believe, need more work. For instance, **in Article 119, point 13, which says that the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, in the interests of defending the country, declares martial law or a state of emergency in individual localities, imposing special forms of management where necessary, perhaps it would be a good idea to say more clearly and specifically what precise forms are meant.** I think it is necessary **to state clearly what the ratio of deputies of indigenous and nonindigenous nationality would be in the republic's Supreme Soviet.** Why leave room for any misunderstandings on this score?"

The last interview, with L. Ratiner, secretary of the "Sverdlov" Kolkhoz party committee and deputy of Slobodzeyskiy Rayon soviet in Moldavia, includes a passage highlighted in boldface, in which Ratiner proposes that article 105 of the Constitution should read: **"The text of a question or answer for voters' information must be published in the press without fail. In the event of an unsatisfactory answer the deputy has the right to a second question, the answer to which must be given by the official at a meeting of voters with an interest in the substance of the case. After this, if necessary, the deputy may raise the question of whether the official is suited to the post he holds."**

The "Reader's Opinion" column ends with an editorial note to the effect that PRAVDA has set up a special editorial group to deal with letters on the draft laws, which will be handed over to the Supreme Soviet chambers' legislative proposals commissions.

A 1,600-word article by Yu. Balashov, deputy of Baumanskiy Rayon soviet in Kazan, published under the rubric "Deputy's Opinion" and the heading "'You Cannot Jump Higher Than Your Own Head....'," is devoted to Balashov's efforts to help his constituents with their housing problems and the difficulties faced by local soviet deputies in the face of financial and other constraints. He calls for local economic leaders to be given a free hand to carry out work not included in the plan in the light of local needs and, in a passage printed in boldface, proposes the following amendment to the draft Constitution: **"A paragraph should be added to Article 146 to state that the local soviet's budget is formed out of deductions from enterprises located on its territory fixed according to long-term normatives, income from local industry, trades, and cooperatives, funds drawn from the population, and other sources. These resources are to be spent for the social development of territories on the basis of self-management and self-financing."** He also calls for the further strengthening of the deputies' status through "additional firm guarantees": "One of these could be **a legally enshrined requirement for officials to give official answers to deputies' questions not only at a soviet session, but directly to the deputy."**

The final contribution to the page is a 1,600-word article by Professor V. Savitskiy, chief of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of State and Law, under the rubric "Lawyer's Opinion" and headed "What Kind of Court Do We Need?" Savitskiy calls for careful thought, since this is "the first time that amendments have been made to an existing constitution," and goes on to discuss in detail points concerning the election and role of judges. He recalls that before the party conference he proposed **"going over to the appointment of judges by the highest organ of power for life, or rather until retirement age, and guaranteeing that they could not be replaced."** This, he argues, would help strengthen the judges' independence. The draft law, however, does not, in his contention, fulfill the party conference's wishes on this score: **"According to the party conference decision, people's judges of rayon courts should be elected at sessions of oblast and kray soviets. What the draft proposes does not even preserve the present unsatisfactory situation. It is a clear step backward, because it is recommended that rayon judges be elected at sessions of rayon soviets."** Savitskiy concludes: "Either we really want to create a

socialist rule-of-law state, in which the court will play the important role of guardian of the law and guarantor of social justice, or, as has happened before, we will continue to whitewash the gloomy facade of our statehood. There is no third way."

Old, New Election Campaign Styles Contrasted

PM2710110988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Special correspondents A. Kondrashov and M. Kushtapin article under the rubric "Learning Democracy": "Why Worker V. Korolev Will Vote Against"]

[Text] **IZVESTIYA has already reported that by-elections for RSFSR Supreme Soviet deputies to replace deputies departed prior to the expiry of their term of office will be held in nine RSFSR okrugs 23 October. The report "Just a Single Candidate" (IZVESTIYA issue No 280) described the start of the election campaign in Omsk Oblast's Tyukalinskiy Okrug, No 576. Today we publish a report by our correspondents on okrug election campaign conferences held in Moscow's Oktyabrskiy Electoral Okrug, No 39, and in Moscow Oblast's Lyubertsy City Okrug, No 71.**

"There are no free seats left!" we were told by the stern janitor at the USSR Academy of Sciences General and Inorganic Chemistry Institute.

It was only by showing our editorial office credentials that we managed to get inside the institute's hall where the okrug election conference for the capital's Oktyabrskiy Okrug, No 39, was being held. There were more than enough free seats left. Judging by the expressions on people's faces, it was not hard to guess that many of them would have been only too happy to give up their seat to anyone who might have wanted it in order to get back home quickly, since not only the janitor but every person attending the conference realized that his presence or absence would change nothing in the election campaign scenario.

The candidate deputy's agents approached the microphone in turn and diligently recounted his life story. And since there was only one candidate, the agents' speeches differed only in that some of them emphasized that they had first met the future deputy while he was a senior official in the CPSU Central Committee and later deputy minister of higher and secondary specialized education. Others, in contrast, began by saying that they personally had never met or come into contact with the candidate but knew him well as a scientist....

Proceedings at the meeting were enlivened by V. Korolev, polisher at the "Stankostroitelnyy Zavod Imeni Sergo Ordzhonikidze" Association. The chairman asked the audience: Is there anyone else who would like to speak? Valeriy Petrovich asked for the floor.

"I was under the impression that we came here actually to choose a candidate for RSFSR Supreme Soviet deputy, but I see that everything has already been decided without us. So why drag people away from their work and play at democracy? I personally feel that I have been defrauded as a voter and as representative of the plant collective. Tomorrow I'll get back to my team and I'll tell my comrades that everything went as it used to in the 'good old days'—there is your candidate, we were told, go out and vote for him unanimously. But why should I elect as deputy someone whom I don't know? Just because he is an academician, because he worked in the party Central Committee and as deputy minister? Is there not a deserving candidate in our plant, and even in our own team? I'm going to vote against! I don't know the candidate who has been suggested to us, and the agents have failed to convince me that he would be our best representative in the Supreme Soviet."

"So why did you not nominate your own candidate? After all, we do have democracy," the chairman found himself in an unexpected situation.

"Simply because the party committee gave our shop the honor of electing only representatives to this conference," V. Korolev replied.

"But where is the candidate?" the people next to us whispered. "Is he present at the conference?"

A written question to this effect was passed on to the meeting's presidium. The representatives of the okrug's army of more than 100,000 voters wished to see their candidate, to hear how he intends to uphold their interests in the republic government. And the chairman gave the floor to candidate deputy I. Makarov, chief scientific secretary of the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium.

The academician said in his speech that he had learned of his nomination as candidate only 1 day before the meeting of the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium apparatus staffers, this being the reason why he still has no election platform or specific program for his future activity as deputy, but if he were to be elected he would try to justify the trust vested in him, being aware that representing the interests of one's voters in Russia's Supreme Soviet is not only a great honor but also a major responsibility....

This speech did nothing to disperse from the hall the alienation between the candidate deputy and the voters' representatives, and this could be felt in the questions.

"You have too many official and social duties, and will add to them a deputy's duties. How will you manage to find time for everything?"

"Were there other candidate deputies?"

"How do you intend to solve the rayon's housing problem?"

"You are a major expert on robots. Could you name just one Soviet-made model capable of competing with foreign-made ones?"

Let's be blunt. If Igor Mikhaylovich had had rivals he would hardly have addressed the okrug election campaign conference with general platitudes about a deputy's mission and the rayon's difficulties. He would have had to present his specific program to the voters and to win their confidence. But if there is only a single candidate, no matter how he is presented and no matter what he says, everything will work out fine.

Why did the organizers of the election campaign put the chief scientific secretary of the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium in such an awkward position on the eve of the reform of the electoral system, at a time when democratization in general, and democratization of elections in particular, is becoming an urgent necessity for social development? We were assured in the Oktyabrskiy Rayispolkom and the CPSU Raykom that it is all up to the voters themselves.

"Any labor collective can nominate a candidate deputy, and the okrug commission is obliged to register him. That is the law," V. Rodin, deputy chief of the Oktyabrskiy CPSU Raykom Organizational Department, explained to us. "Staffers from the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium apparatus nominated their candidate, other collectives could have done the same but they evidently did not wish to do so. Nobody else approached the okrug commission about registering a candidate deputy. So how can anybody complain? This is a matter of voluntary work."

"Of course, at first glance it might appear as if we had decided to conduct the election in the old fashion," we were told by N. Fedorov, chief of the rayispolkom's Organizational Instruction Department. "The departed candidate was vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and the present candidate is also from the Academy of Sciences. But that is not so."

"So how does it appear in reality, in your view?" we asked our interlocutor.

Instead of replying, Nikolay Dmitriyevich started lamenting that it is hardly feasible to conduct by-elections with several candidates in just 1 month. As regards the fact that staffers from the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium apparatus developed a desire to nominate their own candidate deputy for the RSFSR Supreme Soviet only after an appropriate telephone call, Nikolay Dmitriyevich kept delicately silent....

The current elections were approached in a completely different fashion in Lyubertsy.

"The election campaign here," we were told by A. Zimin, deputy chief of the Lyubertsy Party Gorkom Organizational Department, "began with us bringing together all primary party organization secretaries and telling them that this time there will be no instructions and no stage management as regards the nomination of candidate deputies. Our only request was for utmost grassroot independence, let every collective decide for itself whom it wishes to see as its deputy."

Never before had such stormy election campaign meetings been seen in Lyubertsy. Actually, the A.V. Ukhtomskiy Agricultural Machine Building Plant initially nominated six candidates. They had to hold two preliminary election rounds so that the plant conference could finally decide between the two remaining contenders—milling machine operator A. Leonov and trade union committee chairman A. Syromyatnikov. The conference lasted a long time. Debates between Leonov's and Syromyatnikov's supporters ended only after the trade union committee chairman declared that he was withdrawing his candidacy since he believed that worker-innovator Leonov, by virtue of his personal qualities, would be better suited to represent and uphold the plant's and the city's interests in the republic's supreme organ of power.

The nomination of candidates was equally untraditional at the A.A. Skochinskiy Mining Institute and the Ukhtomskiy Helicopter Plant. Following decisions by representatives of labor collective meetings, laboratory chief A. Dolgolaptev and general designer S. Mikheyev were nominated as candidates.

The activeness displayed at the very beginning of the election campaign did not slacken but was actually intensified when the campaign for the nominated candidates got under way, when their agents started touring the city's enterprises and institutes.

"To tell you the truth, we did not intend to back worker A. Leonov," N. Lapteva, secretary of the No 13 Timber Processing Combine party committee, admitted. "But when his agents came here and told us what a decisive and principled person he is, we realized that he was the kind of deputy we needed. We also liked his stance on the broadest range of questions, including his program for the city's development, where so much needs to be done."

All three candidates went to the okrug election campaign conference with clear-cut programs for their work as deputies, checked by grassroot collectives. For example, S. Mikheyev feels that his basic task following election would be to impose order in the construction of social projects so that the city might develop harmoniously. A. Dolgolaptev links his mission as deputy with ecology. He is professionally familiar with this problem, and it is also an acute problem for the city, which has almost 2,000 sources of environmental pollution. The question of

erecting purification installations is very urgent. A. Leonov is primarily worried about the new microrayons where, as a rule, construction industry workers are in no hurry to erect stores, schools, or kindergartens.

The three candidates for RSFSR Supreme Soviet deputy in Lyubertsy stood their election campaign test before 752 representatives of labor collectives at the okrug conference. Passions got so heated that A. Dolgolaptev, one of the contenders, could not stand it and addressed the audience:

"Sergey Viktorovich Mikheyev and I are very close, both in terms of social standing and the programs we have put forward. One of us is bound to lose the struggle for the deputy's mandate. That is why I ask you to take a vote right away: If I fail to win one-half of the votes, I will immediately withdraw my candidacy."

The audience hummed with excitement. The presidium explained: The okrug conference has no power to cancel a nomination in this fashion. The candidate himself can withdraw. No. A. Dolgolaptev is against withdrawing his own candidacy. Let the voters decide for themselves which one they would prefer. That is why elections are held, this is why we have secret ballots....

These two okrug election campaign conferences were held within 1 day of each other. But the gap separating them seemed to us much greater both in time and in distance. The election campaign in the capital's okrug followed the customary old pattern—the way things used to be; in Lyubertsy we witnessed active struggle between candidates for the deputy's mandate to win their voters' confidence—the way things ought to be. Today, on the eve of political and electoral reform, both past experience and fresh experience are equally instructive. Both of them offer rich food for thought regarding our civic-mindedness.

Reader Criticizes Electoral Reform Ideas

PM011115188 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 28 Oct 88 p 3

[Letter from reader A. Polshakov followed by editorial office account of remarks by Polshakov: "Who Should Nominate Candidates?"]

[Text] But for Article 100 of the USSR Constitution, our country would have the most democratic electoral system in the world. This article states that the right to nominate candidate deputies belongs above all to the CPSU and other social organizations. Thus those with power in their hands have nominated the deputies whom they needed to ensure their own reelection.

The 19th all-union party conference proposed to "substantially renew" this clearly undemocratic electoral practice which has enabled the apparatus to debar the people from power for decades. Let's see how.

Let us begin with the fact that the resolution contains no specific proposals about how to change the electoral system in order to enable voters to nominate their own candidates rather than following instructions from above. Instead it states "...in addition to deputies representing territorial and national-territorial electoral okrugs, there are to be deputies representing the main elements of the political system—the party, trade unions..." and so forth. And since the selfsame USSR Constitution states in Article 6 that it is the party which is the nucleus of state and social organizations, there can be no doubt about the fact that its "claim" to one-third of the membership of the soviets is fully guaranteed. That means that regardless of whether the party enjoys the trust of the people or not, it will always hold key posts.

There is no reason to pin especially great hopes on the experiment with multiple-mandate okrugs since it merely creates a semblance of changes, no more. After all, the extensive powers, as proposed in the resolution of the 19th all-union party conference, will give little clout to okrug election meetings: The candidates will be nominated by enterprise collectives following the aforementioned instructions.... It is true that there will more candidates than seats, but the members of the okrug election meeting will not be able to know each candidate well—after all, they did not nominate him.... Consequently, here too the word of the organizers of the meeting will be decisive.

Now about the right to recommend the first secretary of the relevant party committee for the post of soviet chairman. In general, the word "recommend" does not signify an order. That is, you can take notice of a recommendation or not, if you prefer.... But we know, and this has lasted since the times of stagnation, that such "recommendations" are tantamount to orders. How the merger of state and party organs is to contribute to the demarcation of their functions is beyond my grasp. In my view, such a great concentration of power in the same pair of hands will, on the contrary, contribute to the emergence of new cults, large and small, and this is worrying....

I personally cannot understand either why the main point at the conference—the proposals on the renewal of the electoral system and the reform of the political system—were mentioned only in the report of the CPSU Central Committee general secretary. That is, the conference delegates were presented with a fait accompli, and the same goes for other party members as well. What I mean is that there was no preliminary nationwide discussion of these questions which are of global importance for our country. And according to the party statutes, once a resolution has been adopted it is too late to discuss it.

If this happened unintentionally, perhaps by force of circumstances—anything can happen in life—then why, judging by the information that has been published, are

the people to be allowed...just 1 month to discuss the draft Law on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution and also the draft Law on Elections of USSR People's Deputies? An event of such importance in the life of the country and only 1 month for nationwide discussion?! What's the hurry? After all, we are deciding our fate. Two months are probably not enough for a working person merely to study the drafts, let alone to ponder them, put his thoughts down on paper, and mail them. And as for the mail, we all know how efficient it is in our country.... In short, there is a heap of problems, but the people at the top are already ready to "sum up" the results. It seems that the "summers-up" do not need our proposals: They will somehow manage without us. This sad conclusion is also suggested by the fact that no one will ever publish the results of the nationwide discussion. At any rate, people at the top may know how many people are "for" and how many are "against," but the people will not be told.

What do I propose? No "separate representatives" from the party, the Komsomol, and so forth—representatives should be elected on a common basis on the territorial and national-territorial principle. In order to organize the campaign for the nomination of candidates, a special committee made up of representatives of local party and social organizations and active public figures should be elected at a meeting (conference) in every electoral okrug. This committee would be instructed to select the candidates, including reserve candidates, exclusively from the local residents (I also propose that self-nomination should be allowed) and the list would then be endorsed at a meeting (conference). Subsequently the committee would not only monitor the work of its deputy and assist him, but if necessary raise the question of his early recall. The main point of all this is to forestall any attempts by the state and party apparatus to mold the future composition of the soviets of people's deputies.

There is a lot of talk about socialist pluralism. Let's see whether you publish my letter....

[Signed] A. Polshakov, worker and officer (reserve), Stavropol.

From the Editorial Office: A. Polshakov's letter arrived at the editorial office before the publication of the drafts of the aforementioned laws. When this edition was being typeset, the author of the letter telephoned and asked us to add the following. "I was pleasantly surprised to see that the drafts are better than I had expected. I noted with satisfaction that the right to nominate candidate deputies will be extended to voters' meetings at their place of residence. But this is not enough. I am convinced that the nomination of candidate deputies for electoral okrugs must also take place solely at meetings (conferences) of the okrug's voters. I stress again, not the soviet of people's deputies, but the committee about which I wrote in my letter should convene the meetings. Existing organs must not be allowed to influence the nomination of candidates to the new Congress of People's Deputies.

"It is simply wonderful that we will now have a USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee and that referendums will be introduced at last. However, I am troubled by the fact that the proposed draft laws define only the procedure for elections of deputies of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and USSR Supreme Soviet—that is, the supreme organs of people's power. What about the grassroots component? After all, if there is no corresponding law on local soviets of people's deputies, the whole electoral system will remain virtually unchanged, which is impermissible, of course.

"In my opinion, Article 55 of the draft Law on Elections of USSR People's Deputies is flawed. I quote: 'A candidate for USSR people's deputy is deemed to be elected if he receives in the elections more than one-half of the votes of voters taking part in the ballot.' How can he receive 'more than one-half' if we have a multiple-mandate system' After all, if there is an unlimited number of mandates, even a worthy person may not get through, may simply not win the requisite number of votes. Clearly, this point of the article will have to be looked at again. In my opinion, Lenin's idea of simple majority will have to be used as the basis.

"I also have a criticism to make about Article 107 of the draft USSR Law on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution. For instance, how are voters to recall a deputy if he fails to justify the trust placed in him if they do not have an organ which is authorized to put such a question to the vote. Consequently, what is needed is an electoral okrug committee.... At the same time, okrug election meetings (I am referring to Article 100) will be redundant if the candidates from electoral okrugs are put forward only at meetings (conferences) of the okrug's voters. These are my proposals on a first reading of the document. As for the content of the letter which I sent earlier, I do not insist on its publication."

Debates With 'Informals' Sharpen Verbal Skills

PM0111134188 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 44, 29 Oct-4 Nov 88 (Signed to Press 27 Oct 88) p 4

[Interview with M. Kolkov, instructor in the Moscow Komsomol Gorkom Propaganda Department Sector for the Study of Pubic Opinion, by own correspondent B. Stanishnev under the rubric "Propagandist's Opinion": "Should We Enter Into Debate...On the Street?"—first two paragraphs are editorial introduction; date and place of interview not specified]

[Text] The processes now under way of the democratization of society and the development of socialist pluralism, which are accompanied by an increase in people's activeness in terms of "rallies" and debates, set agitators

and propagandists new tasks. Very often debates, exceeding the bounds of what used to be the usual auditoriums—in enterprises or institutes—"spill over" into city streets and squares, and many members of previously unknown "informal" associations are drawn into them. How should we act under these conditions?

M. Kolkov, instructor in the Moscow Komsomol Gorkom Propaganda Department Center for the Study of Public Opinion, talked to ARGUMENTY I FAKTY correspondent B. Stanishnev about his ideas on this score and his particular experience.

Correspondent: Mikhail, I would have thought your sector's title presupposes sociological studies....

Kolkov: Our sector is not so much engaged in carrying out sociological polls as such, as in studying young people's opinions via participation in debate meetings. We mainly work with unofficial [samodeyatelnyy] associations, primarily those with a sociopolitical slant. In addition, our task includes the elaboration of large targeted programs; in particular, we are currently engaged in preparing the Moscow city Komsomol organization for participation in the elections to the soviets of people's deputies.

Meetings and debates with "informals" (in all kinds of places, moreover—even during street rallies) are indisputably important for us. But even more important is the fact that our aktiv best learns debating skills during such events. A person who has learned to debate with the representatives of unofficial groups feels confident at any gathering.

Correspondent: The issue of relations between the Komsomol and the "informals" is a big one, and possibly merits separate, more detailed examination. But nonetheless, let's clarify one aspect straightaway. Doesn't it look as though you are deliberately seeking confrontation with the "informals"?

Kolkov: The Komsomol's attitude to unofficial associations was defined at the 20th Komsomol Congress and subsequent Central Committee plenums. The Komsomol advocates a differentiated approach. It is necessary to cooperate with many of these associations. The members of these associations include both Communists and Komsomol members. Incidentally, there is no need to denigrate them solely because they organize their "own" rallies.

We have an unequivocally negative attitude to antisocialist groups.

Correspondent: Incidentally, a word about such groups. The ARGUMENTY I FAKTY mailbag contains letters from people asking us to talk about the "Democratic Union." Have you met the representatives of this organization?

Kolkov: In our opinion, the "Democratic Union" is a group of people who are trying to present themselves as a political opposition in the USSR. They believe that our country should copy the Western path of development, notably by returning to private property. In their opinion, the Communist Party should operate on an equal footing with any other parties, including monarchist or even fascist parties.... Sooner or later we had to embark on open polemics.

Correspondent: The central press reported "Democratic Union" demonstrations: on 21 August and 5 September on Moscow's Pushkin Square....

Kolkov: The militia acted more vigorously then than propagandists. But we have devoted a great deal of attention to the "Democratic Union's" ordinary (quite frequent) actions propagandizing their ideas. (Since there was no question on these occasions of provocative rallies, they were not stopped.)

I must say that the "Democratic Union" is a serious opponent in debate. Our propagandists from the Komsomol aktiv have sometimes been misled by the stereotyped idea that the "Democratic Union" necessarily entails anti-Soviet slogans, the distribution of leaflets, and so on. Such things have indeed happened; however, we have also run up against opponents who act, on the contrary, with emphatic correctitude and exploit the fact that we are unprepared for this kind of contact.

"Democratic Union" activists seek, as it were, to "muster" people's dissatisfaction with specific manifestations of bureaucracy, red tape, and so on in order to exploit this to compromise the party and socialism at all costs. Here is a characteristic illustration. Many people come to Moscow with complaints or appeals to central departments. "Union" activists try to "intercept" some of them, invite them along to rallies or demonstrations, and offer to write about their affairs in the "independent press"—typewritten leaflets. They say that the Western press reprints these articles and the things that are written about us in the West are read at the very "top."

The upshot is that a propagandist prepared to "do battle" with the enemy goes to a rally and, instead of the expected "anti-Sovietist," meets people in need of new housing or wanting a second opinion on a doctor's diagnosis. They don't listen to the propagandist's arguments and answer everything with a detailed account of their own troubles. While the "Union" activist may simply be standing quietly alongside at that moment.

Correspondent: Don't these people realize that people are simply speculating on their misfortunes?

Kolkov: There is a definite tendency for people to be "wrapped up" in their own problems. This is exploited by the "Democratic Union." For instance, we came across the following case. During the work of the 19th

party conference a man came to Moscow with a complaint regarding a kolkhoz chairman—a party conference delegate—who, he said, had "illegally demolished a gas pipeline" that led to his home. The "Democratic Union" latches onto cases like this straightaway in an attempt to present the "party's monopoly of power" as the prime cause.

Correspondent: Have you tried to counter the "Democratic Union" in some way in this sphere?

Kolkov: Yes. For instance, during the work of the 19th party conference the Moscow Komsomol Gorkom, MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS, the SOBESEDNIK weekly, and the unofficial "Civic Dignity" group carried out a joint raid on the USSR and RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium reception rooms, the airport, the "Tsentralnaya" Hotel, and other places where people often gather with complaints. As a result MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS published an article which tried to draw attention to these problems.

Correspondent: Mikhail, it would probably be useful for the propagandists among our readers to learn what other new phenomena are encountered in street debates....

Kolkov: The practice in some unofficial groups with a sociopolitical slant is for people to work in pairs or trios. They stage a kind of performance, in effect. Two people begin to argue loudly in a public garden or square, attracting the attention of people around them. One acts as a defender of the "official" line and the other as his opponent. The staged argument ends with a "defeat" for the former and then the latter, the "victor," begins to publicize his group's ideas.

Correspondent: What would be your advice to a young propagandist, who is beginning his work on the "street"?

Kolkov: Make bolder use of personal experience and your own opinion, appealing not only to your opponent but also to the people gathered around him. Don't be troubled if you're interrupted; try to show the crowd that they're restricting your freedom of speech when they do that.

It is very important to learn to cooperate with other propagandists.

Be prepared to find it more difficult to conduct polemics once you've given your full title.... I know from personal experience that after the words "I'm from the propaganda department...." people's interest in what you are saying grows but so too does their exactingness. In my opinion, it is quite permissible for a propagandist to enter into an argument without introducing himself.

Remember that you may lose a specific dispute, but it will be a "defeat on points." A refusal to argue is a "clear victory" for your opponent.

Meeting Marks Motor Transport Workers Day

PM0111154588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 7

[TASS report: "Devoted to Holiday"]

[Text] The participants in a ceremonial soiree devoted to Motor Transport Workers Day talked about strengthening the material and technical base on the basis of economic accountability, improving motor servicing, and improving passenger and freight transportation. The soiree took place 28 October in Moscow.

Yu.S. Sukhin, RSFSR minister of motor transport, delivered a report.

The main speaker and other speakers talked about the restructuring under way in the sector. Its transport services transport four-fifths of all freight in the country and account for approximately half the passenger turnover. As of January 1987 the sector has been operating under new conditions of economic management, which has made it possible to broaden enterprises' independence and boost their responsibility for fulfilling contractual obligations.

The meeting's presidium included representatives of party, soviet, and public organizations, the leaders of ministries and departments, scientists, and production frontrunners.

Hazardous Cargo Transportation Standards Needed

LD2610144188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0435 GMT 26 Oct 88

[The "Signal" program]

[Summary] Journalist (Anatoliy Gozin) says that the Sverdlovsk railway explosion early this month came as no surprise to railwaymen because Ministry of Railways experts who investigated the Arzamas explosion said that it could happen again. They warned that care was needed in maneuvering trains, and indeed the Sverdlovsk accident happened at the sorting station, where problems have mounted over the years. In August experts said: "Violations of the rules for conveying hazardous cargoes have assumed menacing levels." And now we have more deaths and casualties in another railway explosion, this time in Sverdlovsk.

Few specialists are prepared to speak on the record to the press about the Sverdlovsk accident. The press were not allowed into yesterday's Ministry of Railways Collegium meeting, which examined the reasons for the Sverdlovsk explosion.

At first sight, as the railwaymen at the sorting station were responsible for the accident, then they should answer for it. But workers who pack explosives into

railcars should do so properly, so that the railcars do not explode, no matter what position they are in. There should be special cars for transporting explosives.

"Today it is not futile to recall that the directive bodies passed a decision back in 1982 on creating special railcars." The Ministry of Heavy Machine Building was charged with doing this, but there are still no such cars.

"What else has been done? Now, after Sverdlovsk, Ministry of Railways specialists are trying to route trains with hazardous cargoes so that they bypass towns with large populations and major railway junctions. For some time now, on the local authorities' decision, the railways through Minsk and Riga have been closed to trains with such cargoes. The Kyubyshev ispolkom, for example, has halted traffic along a branch line passing through the city on which explosive cargoes are conveyed. But this treatment of the issue still has a substantial flaw. We will thereby make big towns safe, but what will happen to small population points located along the railways? People live there too."

"There are probably few people today who know that the transportation volume of hazardous cargoes has long since exceeded 100,000 tonnes. Would Arzamas and Sverdlovsk have happened—and everything that followed them—if the ministries which make hazardous products did not economize on safety measures for transporting products, and if existing state standards for production and conveyance of explosive substances did not lack a requirement about stacking cargoes, about chemical phlegmatization, that is, so that they don't react to blows and sparks? But there is no such requirement in the state standard. Because Gosstandart itself is against it. Every year, for instance, that department's officials close their eyes—there is no other way of putting it—to inadequate containers and packing for chemical cargoes, effectively forcing the railwaymen to transport timebombs along the country's railways. As a result of polyethylene bags rubbing against one another, a car carrying calcium hypochlorite caught fire on 16 June on the Krasnoyarsk railway. The same thing happened on the Odessa railway on 16 July."

Departmental interests are prevailing over state interests. "A state normative act on transporting hazardous cargoes is needed."

"Only in our country are hazardous cargoes transported according to departmental and interdepartmental instructions, although as Arzamas and Sverdlovsk have demonstrated, field accidents on this scale almost always go beyond departmental jurisdiction and affect the interests of many of us."

Seamen have stricter guidelines than railwaymen for transporting hazardous cargoes—guidelines which would not have allowed transporting the load that was carried at Sverdlovsk—in such containers or in such a large quantity.

"So I feel that it was no coincidence that last year, before the tragedies of Arzamas and Sverdlovsk, the railwaymen applied insistently to the Council of Ministers, proposing that it immediately adopted state regulations for transporting hazardous cargoes."

Such a law is certain to come soon. And an independent testing ground is needed to test all ways of packing and delivering hazardous cargoes. This would force the producer and transporting party to prove to the state that these cargoes will be transported at no risk to the public.

Computer Magazine Published in Kalinin

LD2710032088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2330 GMT 26 Oct 88

[Text] Publication of an international magazine has started in Kalinin. It is devoted to the practical problems of computerization and is called "Program Products and Systems" [programmnyye prudukty i sistemy]. Articles by prominent specialists from CEMA countries on their experiences using computer equipment and developing software will be published in the magazine. Advertising material in Russian and English is widely represented. The editorial office of the new publication intends to print science fiction works that are close to their subject matter. The magazine will come out quarterly.

Economic

Maslyukov, Gostev Discuss State Plan, Budget

LD0111230388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 1 Nov 88

[Text] Now a report on today's news conference in Moscow on the outcome of the USSR Supreme Soviet session. Our correspondent Vladimir Nazarov reports:

[Nazarov] Yuriy Dmitriyevich Maslyukov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Gosplan, and Boris Ivanovich Gostev, USSR minister of finance, met with journalists today. Of course, all the journalists were especially interested in the particular features of the state plan and budget for next year because all industrial enterprises go over to full financial autonomy in 1989. This is what the Gosplan chairman said concerning this:

[Begin Maslyukov recording] It is first of all, of course, the social orientation of the plan. Second, it is the restructuring of our industry and national economy. Third, perhaps it is the fact that the plan is in keeping with the radical economic reform which is taking place in the Soviet Union. Fourth, the plan is also in keeping with the political reform which is also taking place at the present time.

What do the initial results of the work by enterprises on the principles of financial autonomy and self-financing show? First, their indicators are somewhat better than the indicators of the other enterprises. An incentive has

been created to satisfy the requirements of the consumer. Second, labor productivity is increasing, the manpower is being released. The incentive for each worker to fulfill the enterprise's task has been raised. And a process of thrifty use of resources is starting, which has not been observed in our country in recent times.

Another point I would like to talk about is that the new economic mechanism was formed under the conditions of the current 5-year plan. Of course, the pressure of gross indicators is still with us and is exerting its negative influence on the activity of enterprises. Therefore, for the 13th 5-year plan period, a system is now in hand for devising completely new normative indicators and economic indicators, consisting in the fact that these cost indicators, these gross indicators, would completely disappear from our activity. Thus the intensity of working conditions created for all sectors of the national economy should be equivalent, and the all-state targets that we face should be reached with the aid of a rational taxation system and a system of benefits and preferences, in order to secure conditions for the regions which are difficult to exploit—our north, the Far East, the comprehensive exploitation of the Kola Peninsula, and so on. [end recording]

[Nazarov] As for the particular features of the budget, apart from the points on which Yuriy Dmitrieyvich Maslyukov dwelt, Minister of Finance Boris Ivanovich Gostev stressed the following:

[Begin Gostev recording] Reflected in the budget is the enhancement of the role of local soviets in the reform of the political system of society and the further democratization of administration, which is inextricably linked with the expansion of their economic autonomy and responsibility for the comprehensive industrial and social development of the regions. In individual republics and regions, including the city of Moscow, the development of a mechanism of territorial self-financing will start which envisages a closer linkage of their expenses with the final results of management. [end recording]

[Nazarov] As you know, the deficit in our country's budget was mentioned at the USSR Supreme Soviet for the first time. Naturally, everyone was interested in how the financiers plan to eliminate it. Boris Ivanovich Gostev answered this question in this way:

[Begin Gostev recording] Yes, in fact, it was mentioned frankly for the first time that there is a deficit in the budget which in the course of the year must, of course, be reduced, as they say, to zero. One cannot live with a deficit. So, various measures will be applied to achieve this. They were summarized in the report. Mainly, these are measures for rationalizing the development of the national economy, stepping up the economic measures. At the same time it is not planned to liquidate the budgetary deficit by means of a revision of retail prices. [end recording]

[Nazarov] There was also the question of inflation in our country. Yuriy Dmitriyevich Maslyukov, chairman of Gosplan, said concerning the particular features of this phenomenon in the USSR:

[Begin Maslyukov recording] The nature of inflation in the Soviet Union—and it is necessary to say frankly that there is inflation and we do have this trend—is somewhat different than in Western countries. It is expressed primarily in the fact that in our market a structural change for the better is taking place in production, in the direction of eliminating cheap products. That is, inflation is expressed not in direct growth of prices, but to a greater degree in the fact that cheap goods are disappearing from the shelves. But nevertheless there is inflation. What is being done in this direction? In order to ensure the availability of cheap goods a decision has been adopted to encourage the production of cheap goods for children. In order to level off the inflationary processes for the consumer, for elderly persons and primarily for pensioners—the lowest-paid sector of our population—a similar decision will be adopted here to encourage the producer, for the purpose of equal advantage, to produce cheap consumer goods. [end recording]

Further on News Conference

LD0111222088 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 1 Nov 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Aleksandr Tikhomirov reports on a news conference held in Moscow today:

[Tikhomirov] [video shows news conference] Soviet and foreign journalists at the press center on Zubovskoy Boulevard in Moscow had a meeting today with Yuriy Dmitriyevich Maslyukov, chairman of the USSR Gosplan, and Boris Ivanovich Gostev, minister of finance. This is the first of the news conferences which the information department of the USSR Council of Ministers intends to hold every other Monday. It can be said that the main thing today was a discussion of the figures of the country's socioeconomic development which were heard in the reports and speeches by deputies at the recent session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, which adopted the state plan for 1989.

[Begin Maslyukov recording] [words indistinct] 60 percent of the volume of output of the Soviet national economy is produced at enterprises which have moved over to full financial autonomy and self-financing. In 1989, 100 percent of industrial enterprises and agricultural enterprises will be working on those principles, and I think that in 1989 we shall virtually complete the changeover of the nonproduction sphere to the same principles.

What do the first results of the work of enterprises on principles of financial autonomy and self-financing show? First, all of their indicators are somewhat better

than the indicators of the other enterprises. In the future there are very many problems to be solved in order to get discernible improvement in quality of output, to strengthen the influence of scientific and technical progress on the activity of enterprises, and to raise the stake of each specific worker in the results of his labor. [words indistinct] what radical [words indistinct] in this section? We consider that it is a move to our second model of financial autonomy. I remind you that this model is based on a normative distribution of financial autonomy income formed as a result of the activity of the enterprises. Here, the establishment of standards for the changeover from one article to the other is given over to the enterprise entirely. At present we have a little experience. Over 100 enterprises are functioning already on this model. But the extension of this system is being held back by the fact that the normative-economic and judicial basis for the activity of this form of financial autonomy has not yet been finally elaborated. We are setting ourselves the task of completing the development of this major, and, for us very important, sphere of our economic work in 1989.

The second thing which is very important is the broad development of leasehold relationships, in agriculture primarily, and in industry. [end recording]

[Tikhomirov] Later Boris Ivanovich Gostev spoke.

[Begin Gostev recording] First, the basic financial plan of the state budget has an important role in implementing the radical economic reform. There is an intensification of the influence of finance in speeding up the country's socioeconomic development and the achievement of high final results with the least expenditure.

Second, an important trait of the budget is its social orientation and the concentration of financial resources for the solution of vital problems of national prosperity. Financial priority has been given to solving the food problem, the development of health care, education, housing, and increasing the production of consumer goods.

Third, budget finance is being concentrated in the decisive directions of developing scientific and technical progress, which is intended to bring into effect long-term factors of economic growth and active resource-saving.

And finally, the budget reflects the increasing role of the soviets in the reform of the political system of society and the further democratization of management, which is unbreakably linked with the expansion of their economic independence and responsibility for the comprehensive production and social development of regions. [end recording]

[Tikhomirov] And questions were put afterwards. Despite the inaccuracy in the formulation of some of them, they were to the point: about the monetary deficit of R35 billion, about the inflation processes which are taking shape, about the ways through which the excess of expenditure over the state's income should be overcome, about the transfer to model two of financial autonomy, about prices, about increasing the volume of goods, and about reducing administrative apparatus.

Tomorrow evening you will be able to see a more detailed account of this news conference, which is the first of those that will be held once every two weeks on Mondays from now on, as Lev Aleksandrovich Voznesenskiy, head of the information department of the USSR Council of Ministers, told us.

Aganbegyan: Further Indebtedness 'Dangerous'

LD0111103288 Budapest MTI in English 1440 GMT 31 Oct 88

[Text] Budapest, October 31, 1988 (MTI-Econews)—The Soviet Union has reached a critical level in raising credits, with 25 per cent of the export revenues now used to debt service, said academician Abel Aganbegyan, economic adviser to Soviet party leader Mikhail Gorbachev, in an interview with the Hungarian television. The statement is to be aired tonight but the text has been made available to Econews.

Further indebtedness would be dangerous; instead, the ways and means of cutting the import of some equipment, metals and grain should be investigated. On the other hand, export ought to be stimulated, a more hospitable environment created for the formation of joint ventures and special economic zones assigned to lure foreign capital, he said.

"I am a hard-liner in the respect of foreign debts, but several prominent Soviet economists are of the view that it would be beneficial to raise more loans," Mr Agangegyan said.

The aim of official Soviet policy is to transform the economy, and the overwhelming majority of the economists say an advanced socialist market should be created, Mr Agangegyan said hinting to an article published in the Soviet periodical "MOSKVA." The article claimed "commodity and market relations are alien to socialism in the Soviet Union and business-mindedness is not inherent in Russian mentality".

A market of capital goods has to be created as next year the central distribution of the means of production will be replaced by a wholesale system. La[illegible]'ease will be introduced on a large scale in the agric[illegible].e, and agricultural purchase prices will be raised, he said.

In response to a question whether the "perestroyka" was at a risk unless a breakthrough was achieved in the population's supplies, Mr Agangegyan answered people were reacting sensitively to economic problems because of supply shortages. He said there was definitely a

measure of improvement in supplies, yet the process was slow. The incomes of the population grew faster than the commodity coverage. The result was high demand and hitches in supply.

In an effort to improve the population's supply the 3 billion DM loan raised recently will be used exclusively for the development of the food and light industries, and part of the defence industry too will switch over to civilian production, he said.

Mr Agangegyan said the issue of bonds and shares started in the Soviet Union, commercial banks were to be formed, wholesale prices were to be adjusted to follow the world market prices, customs tariffs were in for a reform and steps were being taken towards making the rouble convertible.

Inefficient Oilfield Exploitation Assailed

PM0111103788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 1

[Yu. Grinko "Economic Review": "Mineral Resources and the Department"]

[Text] The USSR Council of Ministers State Committee for Useful Mineral Reserves has examined work on recalculating reserves at the Udmurt ASSR's Yelnikovskoye deposit submitted by "TatNIPIneft" (Bugulma). The experts came to the conclusion that shoddy work had been submitted for defense. Of the ten or so parameters necessary to reveal the presence of raw materials, not one (!) was valid....

Yet this document was to have been the basis for writing off tens of millions of tonnes of petroleum—reserves which actually exist, are recoverable, and had earlier been approved at the State Committee for Useful Mineral Reserves!

"Today the 'Udmurtneft' production association could be producing 15-16 million tonnes of 'black gold' per year," V. Kucherenko and P. Kurochkin, candidates of geological and mineralogical sciences, write to IZVESTIYA. "The wells that have already been drilled here make it possible to obtain 13-13.5 million tonnes.... But in fact only...about 8 million tonnes are recovered per year. Only in 2 of the 18 deposits being exploited in the republic have recoverable reserves been calculated in detail and defended at the USSR State Committee for Useful Mineral Reserves. The remainder are being exploited in violation of legislation on mineral resources—in ignorance of the geological formation, blindly. No wonder a significant part of a most valuable raw material in Udmurtiya's mineral resources is being ruined irrevocably."

And not only there.

As is known, in order to correctly exploit deposits according to Academician A. Krylov's scientific concept, you need at first a sparse network of wells and then (as supplementary exploration and detailed geological "probing" of the deposit progresses) selective clustering of the wells. But in most of the country's oil-producing areas production workers are still using dense networks from the very start of exploitation of the resources, which results in an unimaginable increase in the cost of production drilling owing to redundant and empty wells. In the opinion of Prof A. Nikolayevskiy (Moscow Petroleum and Gas Institute named for Gubkin) and Prof I. Vayner (All-Union Petroleum Scientific Research Institute), expenditure quadruples (!) during such blind drilling. In West Siberia alone the overexpenditure of resources over the last 15 years amounted to almost R6 billion.

Colossal resources are being invested in the sector. Proven petroleum reserves are still sufficiently large. But extraction is extremely small in relation to both the proven reserves and the budget appropriations. For many years the USSR Ministry of the Petroleum Industry saw no alternative to the sector's extensive development and so counted only on opening up major new deposits. Expansion into new territories and the opening up of new fields are advantageous to the department. Clearly, due attention was not paid to the old regions....

Of course, a different path of development is preferable so far as society is concerned—the intensive path. A detailed study of the geological structure and the full supplementary exploration and scientifically based exploitation of each petroleum deposit will make it possible to obtain hundreds of millions of tonnes of additional petroleum from them without significant capital investment. Practice shows that the increase in extraction from the deposit can be 10-15 percent and often more; according to specialists' calculations, a total of about 100 million tonnes per year for the country as a whole. Moreover, it is a question of millions of tonnes of petroleum which are doomed to remain in the ground forever as a consequence of incorrect exploitation. They will not be inherited by our descendants—they will simply be lost because of the premature loss of reservoir energy, premature flooding of the deposit, or petroleum's oxidation and disintegration.

Why does the Ministry of the Petroleum Industry neglect the careful study of the geological formation of deposits which are being exploited? It is simpler to cite the "geological formation's complexity" and "insuperable natural difficulties" and use them to cover up poor work organization and technological flaws. It is easier to get the petroleum extraction plan reduced by groundlessly writing off reserves when the USSR State Committee for Useful Mineral Reserves reassesses them as not having vindicated hopes upon recalculation.

Sectorial science, judging from the aforementioned Udmurt example, can also be used to distort ideas about the geological formation of the deposits. With what aim?

To conceal from the state part of the reserves, to create a "margin" in order to easily fulfill the artificially reduced plans and obtain undeserved incentives.

The exploitation of deposits must at last be placed on a sound geological basis. For this, many major scientists and operational personnel believe, it is necessary to set up a specialized institute on the basis of the service for geological study, calculating reserves, and planning the exploitation of petroleum deposits, placing this institute under the USSR Gosplan or the USSR State Committee for Useful Mineral Reserves. This will raise the efficiency of scientific research work and will eliminate the very possibility of abuses and financial machinations. On the other hand, economic accountability will strengthen both the material interest and the responsibility of executants.

This problem can also be viewed in a wider context.

A tonne of petroleum costs about $100 on the world market. This price may not be fabulous. But it is not dirt-cheap. The 70 million tonnes of "black gold" which the USSR sells to the capitalist countries each year provides a substantial part of our foreign currency earnings.

Of course, in principle it would be better if we supplemented our gold reserves mostly by selling abroad machines, machine tools, electronic products, and so on. But the reality is that it is not this which determines our exports.

Without advocating that our minerals be immediately recovered at any price and sold abroad, all the same we acknowledge that it is better to sell them and put the money to good use than to waste raw materials, as is happening today. The natural resources must be recovered from the ground as fully as possible. And used thriftily for the common good. The millions of tonnes of petroleum saved can be converted into billions of dollars. This money could be channeled into implementing the housing program, expanding the production of consumer goods—and who knows what else.... At any rate, a use would be found for it.

Of course, the ministry will really have to restructure its work in order to obtain these additional millions of tonnes.

Agricultural

Harvesting, Sowing Progress Reported in Press

PM0111082188 [Editorial Report] Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 26 October 1988 front-pages a series of reports under the "News From the Fields" rubric. A report from Tambov says: "The oblast's farmers have dispatched around 2.1 million tonnes of beets to sugar refineries, overfulfilling the state order by nearly 200,000 tonnes."

It is reported from Blagoveshchensk that interest in the cultivation of buckwheat has "increased significantly" in Amur Oblast. The report goes on to say that "the state order for sales of this crop has been fulfilled 1.5 times over."

The final report is from Kurgan and says that farmers in the Transural region [Zauralye] have "plowed more than 2 million hectares of land, including some fall fallow. Some 496,000 tonnes of seeds have been laid in—mainly biologically mature, plump seeds with high volume weight and germinative capacity. Two-thirds of them have already been cleaned and brought to the requisite condition.

"Winter sowing is gathering pace. The winter crop area is nearly 280,000 hectares, 56,000 hectares bigger than last year."

Agricultural Developments for 30 Oct-1 Nov

LD0211074988 [Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian, unless otherwise indicated, from 30 October to 1 November. GMT times of broadcast are given in parentheses at the end of each item.

30 October

No fileworthy items monitored.

31 October

To date, 599,161 tonnes of cotton have been procured in the Azerbaijan SSR, which amounts to 83.2 percent of the plan. (Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0204 GMT)

Altay machine operators today completed the harvest of sunflowers. This crop covers 100,000 hectares. (0801)

By today Stavropol Kray had sold the state 2.2 million tonnes of grain crops, while the plan was 1.9 million tonnes. More than 1.5 million tonnes is wheat of strong and valuable varieties. (1200)

The farmers of Kashka-Darya Oblast, Uzbekistan, have delivered more than 500,000 tonnes of cotton to the procurement point. (1200)

The country's plan for sowing winter crops has been completed. Work continues in the south, where sowing is carried out after the late crop harvest. Corn, rice and other groats still are being harvested. Above-plan cotton sales are in progress in the recently formed (Khotlom) Oblast, Tajikistan, where the average yield per hectare is above 29 quintals, with almost 50 percent of the harvest being of the most valuable, fine-fibered varieties. To complete the winter plowing plan, approximately 10 million hectares throughout the country remain to be plowed. (1200)

Seed preparation is underway as well. Next spring, intensive grain crop farming will occupy more than 1 million hectares in the Altay, using only high-grade seed. All grain crop and pulse seed here in the Soltonskiy Rayon are of first-class sowing standard. Checks elsewhere suggest that seeds need much work to reach a high grade for sowing. (1200)

The sowing of winter crops was completed in Kazakhstan today. They occupy 2.5 million hectares throughout the republic, which is about 100,000 hectares above the plan. The plan for autumn plowing has been fulfilled, too. About 20 million hectares of plowed land has been prepared for spring sowing. (1400)

1 November

The cotton farmers of Kirghizia have fulfilled their plan. Osh Oblast has produced 70,000 tonnes of raw cotton and plans to send 5,000 tonnes more to the procurement centers. (0000)

(Khotion) Oblast in Tajikistan has already sent nearly 600,000 tonnes of raw cotton to procurement points. (0204)

The cotton farmers of Uzbekistan have fulfilled their annual plan for production of fine cotton varieties. More than 500,000 tonnes have been produced, which is much more than in recent years. (0304)

North Osetia farmers today fulfilled the plan for grain crop sales: 154,000 tonnes. The plan for sales of grain crops to the state was fulfilled by rural toilers of Kharkov Oblast: 1,136,000 tonnes, including 800,000 tonnes of wheat, have arrived at elevators and grain crop reception centers. Sales of grain crops to the state continue. (Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT)

Scientific

One Killed in Stavropol Chemical Plant Accident

LD0111083888 Moscow TASS in English 0744 GMT 1 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 1 TASS—One person has been killed in an accident at a chemical plant in Stavropol, southern Russia, due to a gross violation of the technological regime, the newspaper SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA reported today.

Four victims of the accident needed resuscitation. 13 more workers were hospitalized with a varying degree of poisoning.

A discharge of unchecked slag products into an industrial sewage pipeline caused the rapid formation of a noxious gas cloud that penetrated inside workshops.

The causes of the accident are being examined by a special commission.

Cosmonauts Continue Flight Aboard MIR

LD0111133288 Moscow TASS in English 1101 GMT 1 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 1 TASS—The Soviet cosmonauts Vladimir Titov, Musa Manorov and Valeriy Polyakov continue their long orbital flight on board the MIR research complex.

They completed another two series of astrophysical experiments within the framework of the international program Roentgen and conducted observations over the Crab Nebula and a Roentgen source in the Small Magellanic Cloud with the help of telescopes of the Kvant module.

A cycle of TV shooting of separate areas of Moldavia and the Crimean Peninsula was carried out under a program of geophysical studies. The cosmonauts did it for the purpose of analyzing the state of farm crops and detecting zones of pollution of the atmosphere by industrial waste.

The crew's program for today includes astrophysical experiments with the use of the maria magnetic spectrometre, the study of characteristics of the earth's atmosphere and the technological experiment codenamed Vikhr.

The cosmonauts will prepare today the technological installation "mirror-beam oven" for the future work, and the medic-researcher will conduct a regular checkup of the blood circulation system according to a medical control schedule.

The crew are working according to an outlined program.

Academy's Khalatnikov on Problems of Science

PM2810125288 Rome L'ESPRESSO in Italian 23 Oct 88 pp 231-2

[Interview with USSR Academy of Sciences Vice President Isaak Khalatnikov by Daniela Minerva in Rome—date not given]

[Excerpt] [introductory passage omitted] [Minerva] Professor Khalatnikov, Gorbachev himself has observed that in the Soviet Union the road from a scientific discovery to its introduction into production is too long. Why is this?

[Khalatnikov] The government sometimes expects from us solutions that lie outside our sphere of responsibility. The fact that the Soviet Union produces six times as many tractors as the United States, but that they are of very popor quality, do not work, break down immediately, and so on is not our concern because it is a technological problem. The Academy of Sciences is an organization devoted exclusively to pure research.

[Minerva] So whose concern is it?

[Khalatnikov] It is the concern of the very numerous and very generously financed industrial laboratories answerable to the various ministries. For instance, the Transport Industry should deal with this matter of the tractors.

[Minerva] Why do you say "very generously financed"? How are research funds divided in the USSR?

[Khalatnikov] Roughly speaking, I would say that 5 percent goes to the Academy of Sciences, which conducts basic research. Some 15 percent goes to the universities and the remaining 80 percent to industrial laboratories managed by the various ministries, which should deal with the transfer of our scientific discoveries to the production apparatus, in other words, with technology.

[Minerva] In his book, "Perestroyka," Gorbachev openly discusses the crisis of Russian technology and talks explicitly about "targeted programs to encourage labor collectives and scientists to work creatively." What changes are taking place in practice?

[Khalatnikov] A successful attempt is being made to introduce a system very popular in the West—economic recognition for results achieved. The industrial laboratories must be in a position to finance themselves by selling their products to factories, which are in turn responsible for the efficiency and economic viability of the innovations introduced. Believe me—and this is not because I am an academician—but the problems lie in the ministries' management of the industrial laboratories, not in the Academy, whose excellent scientific activity is clear to all and which receives constant international recognition, but which cannot finance itself since it produces basic research.

[Minerva] Nevertheless Vitaliy Ginzburg has spoken unambiguously in OGONEK about the bureaucracy that is stifling the Academy of Sciences, and Gorbachev himself has appealed for more openness and flexibility from scientists. What is being done to combat bureaucratism?

[Khalatnikov] The anecdote about the photocopies [reference to Ginzburg's OGONEK account of his experience of the ease of obtaining them in the United States] is frankly rather weak. At the institute that I direct, anyone can make as many photocopies as they want, whenever they want. The real problem is that some institutes within the Academy are too large to be efficient. For instance, the Lebedev Physics Institute or the Semenov Physical Chemistry Institute, which employ hundreds of scientists, are so huge that their scientific output and administrative problems escape the directors' supervision. Every program goes its own way and the administrative management inevitably becomes complicated and bureaucratic. What we are trying to do at present is to dismember these mammoths into smaller institutes employing no more than 200 people, whose activities can be coordinated by their directors. Then you will see that photocopies are no longer a problem for anyone. In any case they are not a serious problem even now.

[Minerva] So what are the serious problems?

[Khalatnikov] For instance, the fact that many institutes and universities, especially in the provinces, lack enough foreign currency to pay for their subscriptions to journals. How can you conduct research without journals? The entire data apparatus is extremely unsatisfactory: Even the Soviet journals circulate slowly. The information system functions poorly. Laboratory equipment is often old and obsolete and new equipment must be purchased. If restructuring releases a substantial amount of money from the grasp of the military, life will be different, and so will science.

[Minerva] However, the difficulties of Soviet science and technology seem to be disappearing all of a sudden from the space sector, where there is a surprising rapport between aeronautics and basic research. It is possible to believe that this is the only field where the vast military financing has any civilian spinoffs. Why is this?

[Khalatnikov] I myself am very surprised by the successes of the space program. I often wonder what there is there that is lacking elsewhere. I believe it has to do with tradition. It is rather like the ballet. Everyone tries to equal the Russian ballet, employing vast resources and excellent artists, but nobody succeeds. You have to have it in your blood, and the same applies to space.